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ABSTRACT

Third in a series of seven volumes containing the proceedings of the 1983 Australian Family Research Conference, this publication deals with marital adjustment and breakdown. Papers are organized into four major sections: education for family tasks, marital satisfaction, adjustment to separation, and construction of family image. Papers and authors included are: "Education for Family Life: What Kind of Knowledge Do Families Need?" (Moira Eastman), "From Courtship to Divorce: Unrealised or Unrealistic Expectations" (Ilene Wolcott), "Stepparenting Special Skills" (Joy Conolly), "Spouse Selection and Satisfaction with the Quality of Family Life" (Wolfgang L. Grichting and E. Ruth Bradshaw), "Marital Synchrony Inventory: A Measure of Interpersonal Perception" (Daniel Kahans, Nigel Reece, and Naomi Crafti), "Correlates of Marital Adjustment in Australia" (Christopher F. Sharpley), "Family Cohesion: A Delphi Investigation" (James Nixon), "Marital Breakdown: Reactions to Separation and Post-Separation Experiences of Adults" (Freya Headlam), "On Being Single Again: A Mutual Aid Response" (Eva Learner, Bill Healy, and June Polglaze), "Kin and Non-Kin Support in the Separation Process" (Myra Browne), "Three Generations of the Single Parent Family" (Penny Jools and Margaret Kennedy), "The Princess: Machiavellian Maxims for Single Mothers" (Helen J. Baxter), and "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting a Family over Six Generations: Study of the Nathan-Maclaurin-Mackerras Family" (Mary R. Power).

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AUSTRALIAN FAMILY RESEARCH CONFERENCE

Held at Burgmann College, Australian National University, Canberra, 23-25 November 1983

PROCEEDINGS

VOLUME III

Marital Adjustment and Breakdown

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Note: The proceedings of the Australian Family Research Conference are published in 7 volumes:
Volume I: Family formation, structure, values
Volume II: Family law
Volume III: Marital adjustment and breakdown
Volume IV: Policies and families
Volume V: Support Networks
Volume VI: Family life
Volume VII: Closing address and index

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Education for family life: What kind of knowledge do families need?

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The need for family education

The family* has emerged as a group of prime importance in developing competence in its members. Families have been shown to be the key to the intellectual and social development of small children (White and others, 1979). It is often not realised to what extent families also set parameters to the social and intellectual development of the older children and adults (Mischler and Waxler, 1968; Westley and Epstein, 1970; Lewis and others, 1976). Attitudes to schooling and success in that area are known to be powerfully influenced, on many levels, by family environment and values (Marjoribanks, 1978; Penny, C.1980; Connell and others, 1982). Families are probably the most powerful influence on the psychological health of their members (Lewis and others, 1976; Bell and Bell, 1982). A high level of physical health and the following of practices associated with physical health occur more often in those families whose family style also creates competence in other areas of life (Lewis, 1976; Pratt, 1976). A satisfying family life (or other intimate support group) is a powerful protector of physical health, while severe distress of disruption in family life is a considerable threat to health (Chester, 1971; Ladbrook, 1976; Lynch, 1977; Bloom and others, 1979).

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* In this paper 'family' means a group of people living in some relationship to each other, usually in the one household. It includes single parent, adoptive and extended families.

Families have a greater impact on at least some areas of the moral development of adolescents than peers or school (Dickinson, 1979) and are a major influence on the style of religious attitudes, practices and beliefs developed (Greeley, 1980). A child's experience in the family of origin is a powerful influence on his or her later parenting style (Bowlby, 1969, 1973; Rutter, 1981). The degree of social concern and the willingness to invest oneself in social action has been shown to be influenced by experience in both the family of origin and the family of procreation (Greely, 1980; Habermas, 1970).

Early results of the European Values Study indicate the family to be 'the absolute key' to values in many areas of life and to satisfaction with life in general.

Norton and Glick (1979) report a similar finding:

> Marriage and family are the most satisfying parts of most people's lives and being married is one of the most important determinants of being satisfied with life.

It is a matter of concern, then, that there is increasing evidence of stress in families. The statistics on alcoholism and drug abuse, breakdown in mental and physical health, child abuse and other family violence, teenage pregnancies, teenage runaways, homeless teenagers and increasing teenage suicide figures all indicate increasing pressures on families.

The key indicator of this pressure, however, is the increasing rate of marriage breakdown and subsequent divorce which is a feature of every western society (Dominian, 1980). A recent report by the Institute of Family Studies states:

> If we assume 1982 rates of divorce will apply throughout the lifetimes of a group of newly-married couples, 40 per cent of all marriages would end in divorce.
>
> This compares with a divorce rate of 47 per cent in the United States, 38 per cent in England and Wales and 27 per cent in New Zealand. (Institute of Family Studies,1983)

These divorces in themselves are stressful and painful events. There is agreement that in the short term, marital breakup is intensely painful for all or most members of the family. It interferes with the children's development and causes symptoms of physical distress in both adults and children. It interferes with work, parenting ability, school and play (Ladbrook 1976; Benedek and Benedek 1979; Weiss 1975, 1979a; Dominian 1980). Several researchers have focused on the health effects of separation and divorce (Lynch 1977; Ladbrook 1976; Chester 1971; Weiss 1979a; Bloom et al 1979). They compellingly document the frequency with which illness accompanies separation or dysfunction an indicator of the stress caused by disruption in the primary support group. Bloom et al (1979:181) find:

> The evidence overwhelmingly supports the hypothesis that separation and divorce are stressors of the first magnitude.

And Ladbrook (1976:28) suggests that the high frequency of divorce in the United States has 'desensitised' people to the dramatic nature of the upheaval it represents in the lives of divorcing persons.

However, the divorce figures are indications of far more widespread stresses on families. It is likely that the divorce figures are the tip of the iceberg of family stress and that many more families experience this stress than ever appear in the divorce statistics. This raises the issue of the availability of preventive measures. For example, Bloom and colleagues (1979:181), having studied the impact of marital disruption on family members, recommend that:

> Any community interested in improving the well-being of its citizens would be advised to examine the social and psychological costs of marital disruption and to examine ways of reducing such costs.

Obviously, breakdown and family stress are related to major social and economic conditions and fluctuate in response to these conditions. But they are also related to individual life experiences (Bowlby, 1959, 1973; Dominian, 1980; Rutter, 1981). Family education is one preventive measure that offers the possibility of families gaining access to skills, information and resources to enable them to negotiate better with the institutions which frame their lives and to make up for deficits that may have occurred.

But family education is not proposed only from the perspective of prevention. There is mounting evidence that some families provide a particularly satisfying environment for their members and one which is associated with competence in a wide range of areas (Curran, 1983; Eastman, 1983).

It may be possible for other families to learn the skills, attitudes and behaviours which are associated with a high degree of satisfaction with family life.

Programs Developed

In fact, many programs with the above aim have been developed. They include:

- Pre-marriage education;
- Couple communication programs;
- Parent education and parent support groups such at P.E.T. (Parent Effectiveness Training); S.T.E.P. (Systematic Training for Effective Parenting); the Playgroup movement, Infant Welfare Centre Parent Groups;
- Marriage Enrichment and Marriage Encounter programs;
- Whole family programs such as Family Clusters and Understanding Us (Carnes, 1981);
- Programs to assist families undergoing separation or bereavement (Levy and Joffe, 1978; Welch and Geranvold, 1977,Wallerstein 1983)
- Programs to assist families with the predictable difficulties which occur when adults with children marry (Messinger, 1976).

Outcomes of Evaluation

A survey of published evaluations of almost sixty such programs found most programs achieved a degree of success, at least in the areas measured (Eastman, 1983). These evaluations show that it is possible to teach skills, change attitudes and alter family or couple interactions by relatively simple and short interventions or programs. Evaluations of programs claiming to assist in the above areas show that:

a) parents became less authoritarian and more democratic following training in parenting skills (Schultz, 1981 a and b);

b) positive changes in mother-child interactions were demonstrated following parent education programs (Schultz and Nystul, 1980; Schultz, Nystul and Law, 1980);

c) measurements of children's self esteem increased after their parents took part in a parent skills program (Schofield, 1979);

d) families demonstrated more effective decision-making (Stanley, 1978) and reported greater family happiness and improved family functioning (Schultz, 1981 a) after parents attended a parent skills course;

e) couples substantially increased the number of their positive messages and problem-solving statements (Witkin, 1976 and Farris and Avery, 1980), increased in self-disclosure, empathy and warmth (Travis and Travis, 1975; D'Augelli et al, 1974), demonstrated a greater willingness to seek help when necessary (Badet et al, 1980, 1981) and increased their ability to negotiate conflict (Bader et al, 1980, 1981) after participation in a variety of couple communication and relationship workshops;

f) couples who participated in a pre and post marital program on communcation and conflict negotiation demonstrated that disagreement areas can have a positive rather than negative impact on the marriage (Bader et al, 1980,1981). The control group showed a very different pattern;

g) couples learnt and demonstrated in the 'at home' situation the use of self-defined helpful communication patterns (Margolin and Weiss, 1978);

h) couples increased the range of their available communication styles and hence had greater choices of how to relate, including the choice to maintain or change their current ways of relating to one another (Nunnally et al, 1975);

i) children have shown an increased positive relationship with mother and father (and an increased negative relationship with the father) (Schultz, 1981 b) after the parents completed a parenting skills course;

j) couples who completed the PREPARE pre-marital relationship inventory both with and without counselling experienced greater post-wedding adjustment compared with couples who experienced a traditional or no pre-marital program (Druckman et al, 1981);

These findings were all from carefully designed empirical studies using control groups and statistical methods.

Two literature surveys support the finding of the effectiveness of many family education programs. D'Augelli (1974) reviewed the literature of programs to teach honest communication, empathy and sharing of feelings in intimate relationships and concluded that skills to assist individuals and families in dealing with their own concerns can be taught effectively and efficiently;

Beck (1975) reviewed three programs of marriage enrichment and concluded:

> Positive effects on the marital relationship can be achieved by a relatively brief, concentrated approach focused on modification of marital interaction patterns.

While a great variety of approaches have been attempted, certain approaches emerged from evaluation with more credibility than others. Some of the more credible approaches were:

* Conjoint approaches were two or more members of a family take part in a learning situation, as opposed to purely individual approaches.
* Dynamic and process learning approaches where family members are involved in direct interchanges with others (rather than purely verbal and cognitive models).
* Carefully structured approaches grounded in theory and with specific content and processes (rather than unstructured programs of 'talks' and free-flowing discussions.
* The opportunity for members to gather information on how they currently relate and how they are currently perceived was a feature of several successful programs, for example the PREPARE Pre-Marital Relationship Inventory.
* The opportunity to learn new behaviour and have time to try it out, practice it and observe the effects of it was a feature of several effective programs.
* Active, game-like processes were found to be popular with some family groups.

Other factors relevant to the provision of education for family life which emerged included:

* The need to match program type to family needs and family style. An important factor here is the stage of the family life-cycle.
* Some families are not good candidates for family education or family enrichment programs. Long-standing, deep-seated problems in relating, inflexibility and the inability to imagine that the family could be different were among the indicators of poor response.
* Many programs are peer-led and so avoid excessive costs and charges of professional invasion of family life. In a number of studies peer-led programs compared very favourably with those professionally led.
* The assumption that these programs are suitable only for middle-class families has not been supported. Some programs have proven acceptable and effective with a wide range of groups.
* There is some evidence of a need for information and resources for the professionals who are consulted at the early stage of the development of marital distress, in particular general practitioners, teachers and local health workers or Infant Welfare sisters.

There is evidence of increasing stress in families. The emotional, financial and social costs of family dysfunction and family breakdown have been well documented. Many family education programs have been developed and have proven effective, and acceptable to families in a wide range of evaluations. This raises the question of why family education is not taken more seriously. For example, this year government funding for pre-marital education for the whole of Australia was increased from $50,000 to $80,000. It had remained stable at the $50,000 mark for five years previously. When we consider the cost of family breakdown (the Conservative party in Britain recently estimated the cost to the tax payer of family break-down there at $800 million a year) or the money spent in other areas (even other areas of education) this figure is ludicrous.

Some Concerns Regarding Family Education

It is rare to find the case against family education presented and argued. However, there are reasons for caution in the area. There is the danger of further professional intrusion into family life and further loss of family autonomy (Lasch, 1977). Families could be stigmatised (this has, in the past, been an inevitable outcome of the pathology orientation to family concerns) or demeaned by pressure to conform to accepted styles of family life. To many families the word education means 'schooling' a mode that is obviously alien to family life and one that has bitter memories, or current associations, for many (Connell et al, 1982). Some fear that any move to strengthen the family will inevitably increase inequality between families (Bane, 1976). Others assume that the notion of family education is acceptable only to middle-class families. While all these are serious concerns, none of them place impossible barriers to the development of equitable and empowering modes of family education (Eastman, 1983). However, the work of Habermas raises some other questions for family education which I wish to briefly address here, especially the question 'What kind of knowledge is it that families need?'

Habermas (1972) argues that three kinds of knowledge can be distinguished. Each is related to a particular human interest.

Technical Interest is the interest in prediction, manipulation or control of the environment. 'Technical' derives from the Greek 'techne', 'the skillfull production of artifacts and expert mastery of objectified tasks'.

There is an emphasis on cause-effect relationships and on discovering and manipulating the causes to bring about the desired results. The typical situation where technical interests and technical knowledge predominate is in work, especially work governed by technical rules based on empirical knowledge. The technical approach assumes that the personal, 'emotional', 'interested' or 'biased' aspects of people can be set aside so that a neutral, 'objective', or disinterested stance can be adopted. This position often claims to be 'the scientific attitude' and has extended its domain so that many consider technical reason and technical knowledge to be the *only* forms of reason and knowledge.

Technical knowledge can answer such questions as: 'What is most efficient? What will maximise returns? What is most expedient?' It can choose between strategies to a given objective, but it cannot address itself to the issue of what the objective should be.

Practical Interest is the interest which addresses this latter question. It arrises from the Greek 'praxis' - action directed to achieving an order of virtuous conduct emanating from prudent understanding and reflecting goodness and justice. The practical interest gives rise to the historical and interpretive sciences. It is concerned with communicating meaning, with the inwardness - the motivations, intentions and understandings - of persons. It can answer such questions as : 'What is good, just, right or wise?' 'How ought things to be?'

Habermas asserts that technical interests and knowledge dominate all Western societies and have invaded even the family - where personal issues involving the inwardness of members, their interactions, understandings, affections and hostilities could be expected to be paramount. (Our usual use of the word practical is nearer to the meaning of technical interest, an indication of the dominance of technical reason.) That is, a practical action has come to mean expedient or maximising, rather than morally justifiable, consistent with truth, rightness and justice. Watters' intensive study (1981) of one Melbourne working class family in fact found this predominance of technical action. This may help to explain why, of the vast sums spent on education, so little is spent on education for family life or for human relationships in general. The belief that anything to do with interactions, human relationships, communication patterns, emotions and other such personal areas, is outside the bounds of knowledge (is 'unscientific') is a major barrier to any realistic funding of such programs.

Habermas distinguishes a third interest, critical interest, which leads to another kind of knowledge involving both technical and practical interests. The concern in this case is to examine what is 'believed' in relation to what 'is'. It involves therefore a considerable degree of self-reflection plus an analysis of social patterns, interactions and structures. It has been noticed that individuals, groups and whole classes of people often seem to willingly co-operate in systems that cause them suffering and dissatisfaction. The major aim of critical reflection is for individuals and groups to free themselves from co-operating in their own suffering.

For example, a major cause of frustration and suffering identified by families in a survey of Sydney families was 'consumerism' (Sydney Outer Western Region 1983). Yet pressure to 'keep up with the Joneses' can only be a pressure if thousands and millions of people agree to play the game, a game which is not in their own interest. For these families to be freed from the pressure of consumerism they would need to know that others also experience a similar pressure. They would need to come to understand their own 'consumerist' actions. They would be helped if they understood the mechanisms of advertising and who it is that benefits from their too ready response.

Habermas' distinction of different kinds of knowledge draws attention to an important issue concerning the kinds of information, knowledge and skills families need. Family needs can never be met only through technical knowledge, such as knowledge of finance and budgeting, how to manage time or how to locate and access community resources. Families also need practical knowledge to answer such questions as: 'Does the family currently meet my needs?' 'Does it meet the needs of each of the other members?' 'What does family life mean to me?' 'What would I like my family life to be like?' 'What do we want from the neighbourhood, local community, the institutions of society?' It is only through critical reflection and action that families can achieve a greater understanding of their own family system and their family's relationship to the wider community and discover how they themselves (with others) can re-mould both family and neighbourhood so as to meet more of their own needs and those of others. 'If this is the way it ought to be, what are we going to do about it?'

A particular situation is necessary to allow the free exploration of an issue such as consumerism, involving as it does both personal self-reflection and social analysis. Habermas (1970, b, c) names this the 'ideal speech situation'. Fay (1977) says that in practice this means a 'conversational' setting. The group is relatively small, relatively egalitarian and relatively committed to discussing the members' situations and experiences. In the 'conversational' group any member has a roughly equal chance of being the next speaker and can initiate almost any kind of communication move he or she wishes - observations, remarks, statements, questions, denials, reflections on the previous speaker's state of mind, inferences, re-definition of terms, asides, warnings, challenges, jokes. Communication in situations where there are marked differences of power between participants follows strikingly different rules. The person in the most powerless position, for example, a child in a traditional classroom or a job applicant during job application interview, is virtually restricted to speaking when invited to and then only to answer briefly and in terms of the question asked. Most of the communication moves described above would be considered inappropriate.

In the conversational group each member has the opportunity to be heard and to contribute to the commonly constructed world-view, including the purpose of the group, the goals considered of value, the agreed ways of achieving these goals. There is a balance in the 'I - me' polarity. At times each person is an 'I', initiating and acting, and at other times is a 'me', subject to and responding to the initiatives of others.

'Communicative competence', families and family groups.

It is obvious that the 'conversational' setting, or the situation of 'communicative competence' as Habernas calls it, exhibits many of the characteristics which have been described in particularly well-functioning families - for example, the relatively egalitarian structure; the norm of speaking freely and being heard at depth, of being acknowledged and responded to; the ability to solve problems by negotiation and to make joint decisions (Curran, 1983; Eastman, 1983).

It is also clear that this is the environment that many family life educators have come to believe is essential if an effective learning environment is to be established. Most family life education or family enrichment programs rely on small groups which attempt to incorporate all or most of the above features. Further, many of the skills, attitudes and awarenesses fostered by family life educators are those that are necessary to establish and maintain a situation of communicative competence.

The radical insight of Habermas' communicative ethics is that 'emancipation is inextricably linked to making "undistorted communication" the basis for the development and critique of all forms of social organisation'. (Wellmer, 1976:262).

If Habermas is correct, through the emphasis on 'communicative competence' that characterises most approaches to family education, family educators are involved in the work of defeating technological rationality. (Giroux, 1979).

> The conditions that make such dialogue possible lie at the heart of a social order and not just at the core of a pedagogical encounter. (McCarthy, 1978:139)

Such a vast aim can seem quite impractical. It is worthwhile then to see how such an approach to family education might look in the concrete. I am currently involved in developing an approach to family education called Family Clusters. Family Cluster, although not well known, is of interest because if combines a number of approaches to family well-being.

Family Clusters is an approach to family education which

- includes the whole family;
- emphasises communicative competence;
- focuses on practical and critical interests and processes rather than purely technical interests and processes;
- promotes integration between families as well as within families;
- focuses on family strengths rather than family pathology;
- integrates an on-going client-centred evaluation of its effectiveness;
- provides a setting where family strengths can be recognised and celebrated.

Family Cluster is an example of a program designed to give families the opportunity to learn and incorporate into their own family styles those skills and awarenesses they may currently lack. Family Clusters attempts to create a situation of communicative competence through the initial atmosphere created, through the modeling by the group leaders and through the process of contracting in which the group decides its own norms. It goes beyond a merely technical approach to knowledge through the experiential style of learning in which participants' own direct experiences are observed, reflected on, generalisations are made and new action tried out and evaluated and in which action-oriented, non-verbal, creative and artistic modes such as role-play, clay, paint, mime, sculpture and games, combine with cognitive and reflective modes.

The presence of the whole family is an unusual factor which enables the family system to co-operate with the learning process rather than to thwart it as can be expected with programs aimed at individuals instead of whole family groups. The all-age nature of the learning group is another strength. The children are usually the first to respond to this new situation. They lead the family into experiencing this new environment, and experimenting with new behaviour so that it can be assessed and if found valuable, included in the family repertoire.

The cluster sessions may be conducted at a family camp situation, over one or two weekends or in a series of weekly meetings. Often the families meet for twelve consecutive weekday evenings for two or more and a half hours.

Family clusters can focus on any area of interest the families choose, such as values, family history, the environment, choosing a lifestyle, our community, development and peace issues, family power and social change, the search for religious meaning, or whatever happens to be the concerns of the particular families involved.

However, most families, no matter how healthy, can benefit from learning skills of communication and conflict resolution and from opportunities to increase individual and family esteem. So these tend to be a large part of the agenda of a first series of meetings. Reflection on the family's rules and on the ways the family relates to people and institutions outside the family are other themes for early sessions.

Family cluster differs from parent education programs such as P.E.T. in that all members attend (even babies can be accommodated in its flexible approach) and the emphasis placed on enjoyment, fun and families supporting each other and learning from each other. Families learn to identify their own strengths, and to work from their areas of strength. They see other families doing things differently and have opportunities to try out new approaches so increasing their range of choices.

Evaluation of clusters has been through:

- pre-session questionnaire and interview,
- observation by leaders and outside observers,
- evaluation following each session
- on-going review and feed-back by cluster members,
- 1½-2 hour taped interview with families at the conclusion.

In interviews with 16 families all members said they would attend another series of sessions and would recommend other families to do so, though one family made the condition that certain emphases be included.

Most members could report learnings related to self, family and others. Many members could report evidence of improved communication within the family and in other settings.

Members valued the experience of community, increased understanding of self, family and others, improved communication, their ability to 'have a say' in the group (some reported they had learnt they could have a say), the intergenerational and non-competitive nature of the group (teenagers were particularly appreciated by older and younger members), the shared experience of going somewhere together as a family and participating and meeting other families. There was a resentment of a few attempts to use 'schooling' type methods to restore order, and two families expressed disappointment that they were not challenged more by the learning processes. Where leaders failed to use the contracting process some members (who had experienced the process earlier) noticed the lower level of participation and involvement and interviews did not find members commenting on their ability 'to have a say'. Leaders have found the leadership role very demanding and have requested more resources to help in planning sessions. The following comments taken from interviews give some idea of members' response to this experience.

Fathers said:

* We joined to get to know other families. We were amazed that we got to know each other better.
* My children saw me, not just as a parent but as a person.
* I felt loved.
* I liked acting like a big kid.
* I loved getting to know the little kids and having them get to know me.
* Family cluster is a party. It's not a training. It would be a pity if it became a training.

Mothers said:

* It's a non-competitive group. School and most situations are very competitive.
* It was a renewal for us as a family. A time to be together that we wouldn't have had otherwise.
* The best part was the shared experience. We all went somewhere and did something together.
* I felt that our family was OK.

* I was very impressed with the teenagers.

* There is a heightened sense of community, of identity with other families. I see it in the faces of the children when they meet one of their favourite adults in the street. There's a special bond, an increased care and concern for one another.

Teenagers said:

* I found out how I affect other people, how other people feel when I do certain things. I've become more tolerant.
(16 year old boy)

* I found out that lots of the things I do without thinking about them are very hurtful to other people, so I try not to do them. I realised parents are people, not jailers.
(15 year old girl)

* The adults didn't treat us as mini adults.
(14 year old girl

* You weren't forced to (say things) but you were expected to, and you wanted to and you found you could.
(13 year old boy)

Younger children said:

* Before it was hard to talk to adults. We didn't know what to say. Now we know what to say.
(11 year old girl)

* It makes a family a closer family and brings you closer to other people.
(11 year old girl)

* It would be good if there was another cluster. We had so much fun. It would be good if other people could join in.
(8 year old boy)

* I learnt how to get more friends and how to say some things. I know how to cope with things better and also I learned how to be happier.
(8 year old boy)

* I learnt that other people liked me. People don't look as if they like you.
(8 year old girl)

* I liked the games. You play games with other kids, but you don't often play games with Mum and Dad.
(9 year old girl)

* Everyone was not just a child or a parent or a member of a certain family, but was a person in their own right and got a chance to speak.

  (11 year old boy)

The development and evaluation of the project continues but there seems to be adequate evidence of the possibility of empowering, non-demeaning community based family education programs.

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From courtship to divorce: Unrealised or unrealistic expectations

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This paper examines the relationship between marital expectations and the reasons for marital breakdown ending in divorce for a sample of 171 men and 124 women who were divorced in 1979 and interviewed in 1982 as part of a more extensive study of family dissolution.

Marital expectations have been identified by Lewis and Spanier (1979) as one vital factor that determines whether a marriage will remain intact or dissolve. The relationship between marital expectations, marital satisfaction and marriage breakdown has been reviewed in the recent writings of Lewis and Spanier (1979 and Spanier and Lewis 1980). Burr et-al (1979) have stated that marital satisfaction is dependent on 'the amount of congruence between the expectations a person has and the reward the person actually perceives' while Jacobson (1952) states that marital happiness or adjustment is 'a function of playing the role expected for the self and the mates playing the role expected for the mate' (p.146).

Although Lewis and Spanier (1979) emphasise that the level of marital satisfaction is a major determinant of marital breakdown, actual breakdown according to Levinger (1976) is determined by a complex balance between how well expectations are met, the costs and benefits of maintaining or dissolving the relationship and the perceived alternatives to the marital situation.

Expectations of marriage are in turn, embedded in the personal, social and cultural background of each individual. While marriage may have a unique personal meaning for each person, expectations will be influenced by the cultural context in which marriage takes place, in the values and beliefs attached to the institution of marriage by the individual and by the contemporary community. Marriage is thus both a private affair and a public institution.

In addition, childhood experiences and patterning in the family of origin are considered to play a major role in defining expectations of marriage. (Dicks 1967). Both Nadelson (1978) and Dicks (1967) have stressed the importance of each partners conscious or unconscious expectations, fantasies and perceptions on the outcome of marriage. Dicks has characterised marriage as, 'a contract to play certain social roles (first of the many factors of a spouse, later of a parent) in such a way as not only to satisfy many emotional and biological needs each of the other and of their own; but also to fulfil, or conform to a tolerable degree with the requirements and mores of the cultural background in which each partner developed and of the changing society of which they now form a constituent unit' (p. 7).

Responses to the questions, 'What did you expect of marriage?' and 'What did you expect from your spouse?' revealed that the men and women interviewed in our study looked to marriage and their partner to provide the conventional, or as Wittich (1979) describes, the 'general commercial-cultural typifications' such as love, happiness, children, companionship and security expected of marriage in our society. As tables 1 and 2 indicate, most of the men and women interviewed (84.1 per cent) expected marriage to bestow emotional warmth and companionship, components of a relationship labelled as 'expressive' by Parsons and Bales (1955) and companionate by Hicks and Platt (1970).

TABLE 1 in here

TABLE 2 in here

These expectations were reflected in the following comments which emphasise the ideal of a companionate marriage based on emotional sharing and partnership.

> "I expected a happy fulfilling relationship with my wife and children." (man 39)
>
> "Love, friendship, working together, doing things together, sharing our lives together". (woman 40)

Love and happiness were seldom mentioned alone but were entwined with desires for sharing and working together.

Love, too, may denote more than romantic affection. Scanzoni (1982) asserts that 'love' also implies an exchange of expectations which for women traditionally has included a partner who is a good provider, success and status and for men charm, beauty and sex.

Family Life Expectations

Traditional expectations from marriage which centre around the notion of family, home and children or the practical contributions of a husband and wife formed the second most common theme. These components have been called the 'instrumental' or 'institutional' aspects of a marital relationship. (Parsons and Bales 1955).

Again, many people did not separate the desire for a family and children from the wish for a close emotional relationship.

> "I expected a home situation and a contented relationship" (man 26)

> "Share our lives, have a family. Have a cozy home." (woman 28).

An integral component of a traditional orientation to marriage is the presence of children. At the time of marriage, 87 per cent of respondents reported that they wanted to have children, however only slightly more than one-third of our respondents specifically claimed they hoped for children or a family in response to this question about expectations. Like the concept of love, having children may have been so obvious an expectation that some people did not think it necessary to mention.

Social Conformity

Marriage and a family were associated with the concept of normality, the anticipated pattern of lifestyle an ordinary person aspired to reach. Marriage held out the promise of achieving adult status and was a source of meaning and identity, the nomos - building institution of Berger and Kellner (1964).

> "Happiness, children, companionship. I guess everything that anyone normally expects. A home, a family, a life together, plans for the future". (male 42).

> "Security, children, a lifetime together. It was a whole foundation for a lifetime, something you build and expand and it keeps going". (female 37).

Surprisingly, more men than women mentioned that they had hoped for children and a family life from marriage. Research on marriage expectations usually report that women more than men look to marriage for fulfillment in this respect. (Thornton and Freedman 1982, Richards 1978).

Traditional Sex Role Expectations

At least at the time of their marriage respondents subscribed to the traditional allocation of tasks and roles between husbands and wives. (Table 3). Other studies (King 1975, Craddock 1980) have confirmed that the dominant style of Australian marital relationships is one in which tasks are assigned according to the sex of the partner. Our study in general reinforced this conclusion.

TABLE 3 in here

Of the 29 respondents who mentioned the expectation of their spouse being a good provider all but 2 were women. The following comment exemplifies this traditional female perspective.

> "The usual things. He would be a good provider and we would have a normal happy ever after life".

Alternately, of the 56 individuals who said they expected their spouse to be a good homemaker, all but two were men. A typical comment reflecting the male view follows:

> "I guess I expected her to be the homemaker and me the provider". (male 58).

Even younger men appeared to adhere to this traditional and conventional perspective as this comment illustrates:

> "To be there to do all things a wife is supposed to do, iron my shirts, cook my meals, all that sort of stuff". (man 28)

Only 45 respondents (15 per cent) indicated that they had sought the qualities of a good parent in their partner. Seldom were the qualities of being a good parent seen in isolation from the other roles and tasks a spouse was expected to perform.

> "Being a housewife, cooking the meals, looking after the children, a companion". (man 30)

> "A husband to provide for me and care for me and the children". (woman 45)

Men often talked about 'a good wife'. Being a good wife was part of being a good mother and a good housekeeper but the phrase also had the connotation of being sexually faithful.

> "To be faithful, to be loving, to cook meals, do washing, keep house, have kids eventually" (man 32).

Women too referred to 'good husband' qualities associated with being a good father and a good provider.

> "To be a good father and a good husband" (woman 35)

Expectation of Equality

It was assumed that expectations of equality in the sharing of household tasks and childrearing might have been emphasised more by those respondents who had married after the mid 1960s when feminist critiques of marriage and the women's movement were emerging. Approximately 63 per cent of respondents had married after 1965 with 38.6 per cent married between 1970-79. At this same time in history the ethos of individualism and self-fulfillment were being promoted (Cherlin 1981, Veroff et-al 1981) which might have influenced our respondents' attitudes towards having children and the division of labour within the marriage.

Few respondents (less than 2 per cent of all responses) specifically mentioned the notion of equality in the marriage or the relationship. Nevertheless, although equality as a specific expectation was not a priority response, the concepts of sharing and partnership expressed by many individuals could be assumed to contain some of the same meanings applied to the more trendy term equality. For example:

> "I thought we'd jointly share responsibilities and work together to achieve them". (man 38)

We hypothesised that those respondents who were younger at the time of the interview and therefore would have married in more recent years when attitudes towards marriage were being questioned might place less emphasis on the traditional expectations of marriage and of spouses particularly in relation to allocation of roles and children and family life. Tables 4 and 5 set out the expectations of respondents according to their age and sex at the time of the interview for sex roles and family life responses.

TABLE 4 in here

The observation that stands out in looking at sex role expectations of spouses according to the age of respondents is the consistency of mens' hopes for a good housekeeper. Whether under 30 or over 45, one-third of the men in all age groups wished for a wife that was a good housekeeper when they married.

> "To look after the house, cook, and the children when we had them." (male 28).

> "To be a housewife, a good mother, I went along with the standards of the day". (male 52).

On the other hand, younger women were much less likely to have expected their husbands to be a provider than those who were over 45. Fewer younger women and men had been concerned with the parenting qualifications of their spouses too at the time of marriage although the discrepancies here were less striking. The men aged between 35 - 44 had mentioned this as an expectation more than either the older or younger age group.

When expectations of family life and having children were examinedthe trends were less clear. Younger women in particular, but also men, were less concerned with having children at the time they married, perhaps because they felt there was plenty of time ahead to think about such things. Closer together across all age groups with the exception of women now aged 35 - 44 was the expectation of family life from marriage which also could include the notion of having children.

TABLE 5 in here

Security Expectations

Among the traditional expectations from marriage was the desire for security which was mentioned by over one-third of respondents.

Conforming to the conventional view that women marry to be taken care of, more women than men cited security as an expectation. Being taken care of was a common theme.

> "I expected him to take care of me, love me, guide me, encourage me, all that kind of thing." (female 28)

Speculating that a desire for security might have been related to the age at which individuals, especially women, married we looked at the expectations of security according to the age at which respondents married. (Table 6).

TABLE 6 in here

No clear trend was observed for men while, for women, those married at the youngest age proportionately more than all women who married at a later age clearly hoped for security from marriage.

One theory of mate selection, why individuals choose a particular partner, suggests that some people seek in a partner a substitute for their parents, someone to take care of them (Dicks 1967). Several respondents admitted that their desires for security and to be provided for was connected to a wish to replicate a parent figure and their childhood environment More often women associated expectations of a father figure with wanting to be taken care of emotionally whereas men seemed to want to find someone to take care of their practical needs as their mothers did.

> "I think because my husband was older I thought that he would look after me. A sort of father figure type." (female 39)

> "To be domestic. To take over from my mother, but probably didn't think about it at that stage". (male 28)

Parent's Influence on Marital Expectations

Experiences in one's childhood family are considered to have a profound influence on an individual's beliefs and expectations about marriage (Dicks 1967). Parental marriage serves as a model for an individual's own marriage whether or not this image is rejected, accepted or modified. Assumptions about appropriate, desirable or undesirable behaviours in marriage and a partner are shaped by observations of how parents resolved conflicts, displayed affection, celebrated family events, shared decision making and generally carried out male and female roles as marital partners and parents. (Dicks 1967). As one respondent said:

> "I expected it to be the same as Mum and Dad's and his parents, to work hard on the farm and never strive to do anything but live and be comfortable at home".

Several questions were included in the study to gain insight into how respondents felt their parents' marriage influenced their own expectations of marriage. Table 7 sets out the responses to the question: 'did you want your own marriage to be the same or different from your parents?'

The scope of this paper allows for only a brief discussion of these issues.

Slightly more than one-fourth of respondents (27.3%) desired to repeat the patterns of their parents marriage while 21.9% wished everything to be different in their own marriage. Sex differences were quite distinct with a greater proportion of women wanting everything different in their own marriage.

TABLE 7 in here

Our respondent's desire to imitate or reject the model of their parent's marriage may have been based on or biased by their perception of how successful or satisfying their parent's marriage had been.

Twice as many women as men also rated their parents' marriage as not happy which would be consistent with these women wanting their own marriage to be completely different. Overall 60 per cent of respondents recalled their parent's relationship as a happy one during their growing up years. Only 12 per cent indicated that their parent's marriage was unhappy.

Since most of our respondents' parents would have married at a time when more traditional views of marriage and the roles of husbands and wives predominated, it is possible that the women in our sample more than the men were expressing a current marital perspective which would necessitate a change in values and attitudes from those present in their parents' marriages. The following remark reflects this impression of changing expectations of the women's role in marriage.

> "I wanted to work and I wanted to be an individual. Dad didn't want Mum to work."

These views were not held exclusively by women, however, as the comment of one 46 year old man illustrates:

> "Well you've got to change with the times but not too much. You have to give and take, the man used to say it and the woman did it, that's not so anymore and I wouldn't have been looking for that in mine."

In exploring the influence of a parent's marriage on the respondents own expectations, the retrospective nature of the responses must be remembered. Respondents were asked to recall how they felt about their parent's marriage from the perspective of their childhood, a view now prejudiced by the experiences in their own marriages and by a mature adult interpretation of events in the past.

Differences between Respondents

Marriage research has tended to divide marital expectations into two categories. The first is usually referred to as traditional which focusses on division of tasks and authority between the sexes and has an emphasis on children and family life (Parsons and Bales 1955). The second or companionate model (Hicks and Platt 1970) centres on meeting the needs for affection, companionship and communication or personal intimacy. Our respondents did not always make these theoretical distinctions as their comments have indicated.

Traditionally, working class couples have been assumed to emphasise the more practical aspects of marriage over the companionate (Craddock 1980, Komorovsky 1967, Veroff et-al 1981). Perhaps, until the pragmatic needs of couples are met, particularly in financial matters, emotional satisfactions cannot become a priority and are less emphasised although no less desired.

Using the occupational level of our respondents at the time they married as an indicator of social class (derived from ANU scale 1 tables), we attempted to find out if any significant differences between respondents' expectations of marriage were noticeable. No clear trends or significant differences emerged on this measure as Table 8 indicates.

TABLE 8 in here

A somewhat higher proportion of those in a lower socio-economic status and those who were housewives desired the traditional attributes of a wife or husband, eg. a good parent, provider or housewife although there was a little difference on expectations of family life or having children. Those with lower status or who were engaged in home duties with its implied economic dependency hoped for security more frequently. And those who were housewives not surprisingly had expected romance from marriage more than any other group. All groups, however, were equally enthusiastic about the intimate and emotional aspects of marriage.

Our analysis supports the sensible observations by a number of researchers (Hicks and Platt 1970, Udry 1974) who have concluded that the two types of marriage are not mutually exclusive. At any given time in the marriage cycle either the traditional or the companionate may predominate while the intricacies of marital wants and needs are too complex to be arranged into such a simple dichotomy.

Clearly most of our respondents whatever their characteristics gave the personal relationship and companionship aspects of marriage the highest priority in terms of marital expectations. These expectations, however, of shared affection and partnerhip often occurred side by side with the expectations of a family, children and the carrying out of traditional husband and wife roles.

This group of divorced people is, in fact, more remarkable for their similarities than for their differences in their expectations of marriage. Overall, expectations were relatively homogeneous across all measures that usually discriminate between groups, measures such as education, age and occupation. Several explanations are possible.

Firstly, part of the difficulty may lie in the choice of completely open ended questions to elicit recall of marital expectations. The accuracy of responses would have depended on the ability of respondents to organise their thoughts around a potentially emotional and complex question and on their willingness to probe their memories beyond the superficial answer.

Related to the willingness to explore expectations of marriage is the conscious or even unconscious wish to select out or to forget reasons that are painful to recall and to withhold thoughts considered too private to share. Alternately people may have responded with an answer judged to be socially acceptable or one that was easy to express because it was an obvious and common response to the question. 'Because we were in love' and 'to have a family' would be in this category.

Secondly, similar responses may reflect the influence of powerful social processes that imprint a common image of marriage on nearly everyone that shares the same general social and cultural environment. (Wittich 1979) The answers given by our respondents represent the ordinary recognisable idea of marriage portrayed in the mass media and popular literature. To separate out more individualistic points of review from the stereotyped response may require a more discriminating set of questions.

SUMMARY

The majority of our respondents, as Table 1 and the quotations taken from the interviews disclosed, basically looked to marriage and their partner to satisfy traditional asperations for a family and home life together with emotional satisfaction, security belonging and a sense of partnership in the future. (Hart 1976, Berger and Kellner 1964).

They also expected marriage to provide a socially acceptable identity which for many included the above mentioned desire for a home and family life that would give them a feeling of personal fulfillment. (Veroff 1981, Berger and Kellner 1964).

> "Companionship, someone to be with. The security of having someone you can rely on.
>
> The normal things, having a family." (man 41)

> "I expected security, a sense of belonging to a family unit and to society." (woman 33)

Unrealistic Expectations

Nevertheless, there were indications that some of our respondents did not recognise at the time they married that hard work, compromise and motivation were required to maintain the expected relationship. Approximately 10 per cent of respondents admitted that their expectations of marriage and of their spouses were romantic or unrealistic.

Nearly three times as many women as men approached marriage with romantic expectations (or at least acknowledged that they had).

> "Hearts and flowers evermore, but of course it doesn't work out that way". (woman 42).

While some people did not use words such as 'romantic' or 'storybook' to define their expectations, expressions like 'endless bliss' and 'perfect happiness' conveyed the same impression. One might say that all answers implying expectations of absolute love and happiness could be classified as unrealistic.

While general expectations of love and happiness were mentioned almost equally across all age groups at the time of marriage, it is interesting (and not surprising) that those who married below age 25 had the most responses specifically mentioning romance or idealistic hopes. Of the 23 women who said they had romantic expectations all were under age 25 when they married.

Expectations that marriage could solve all problems or provide a solution to loneliness and psychological problems also could be classified under unrealistic expectations. Only 12 people in our sample specifically indicated that the main reason they married was to leave home either to achieve independence or because the home environment was intolerable. A number of those who married because of pregnancy may also have expected marriage to ameliorate the condition of being an unmarried mother, to use an old fashioned phrase. Several comments reflected these feelings and expectations that marriage would 'fix' things up in their lives.

Unrealistic expectations from marriage or the idealisation of marriage as a relationship that can be perfect has been blamed for the increase in divorce. Unrealistic expectations can lead to disappointment and frustration or the seeking out of another partner with whom one hopes to achieve the ideal image of a marriage (Nye and Bernardo 1973, Hartin 1980, Chester 1981).

Media portrayals of trendy couples leading exciting and uninhibited sexual lives or images of sanitised happy families contribute to the expectations that marriage and family life should not have to include trivial domestic chores, arguments, responsibility for sick children or most of all boredom. (Hartin 1980).

This leaves couples unprepared for the 'welter of trivia' (Hartin 1980) in daily life that impinge on all marital relationships and reduce tolerance for the inevitable conflicts and compromises that occur in routine married life. Even more importantly, few couples enter into marriage with the necessary understanding and awareness that their expectations will change as they themselves mature and life events alter circumstances both personal and marital.

Although overall, our respondents did not appear to have held particularly unrealistic expectations of marriage, it must be emphasised that responses to these questions about marital expectations at the time of marriage are subject to the distortion of recall. For some of our respondents over 20 years would have elapsed since the time of marriage and at least two years would have intervened for all respondents. Recollections of marital expectations may be coloured by present feelings about marriage and relationships which may influence the interpretation of past beliefs and attitudes. For example, if affection was lacking in a respondent's marriage, the person may state that it was affection that was an expectation whether or not that had been an actual expectation at the time of the marriage. Others would have given the common socially accepted response of children, family, love and happiness without any probing for more complicated memories.

How Clear are Expectations about Marriage

Marriage educators and theorists (Markham 1981, Mace 1979, Wittich 1979) claim that few couples enter into a marriage relationship with a clear understanding of their own or their partner's attitudes towards marriage. Becker (1981) has confirmed that:

> Participants in marriage markets hardly know their aims, interests and capabilities, let alone the dependability, sexual capability and other traits of potential spouses. Although they date and search in other ways to improve their information, they frequently marry with highly erroneous assessments, then revise these assessments as information improves after marriage. (p. 219).

In our sample only 13.9 per cent of respondents noted without any qualifications that they had no expectations of marriage or their spouse or that they did not know at all what their expectations were:

> "I don't know. I don't think I expected anything from it". (woman 26)

> "That's the whole point. I didn't really think what to expect. I just breezed in." (Man 26)

Several respondents blamed their lack of expectations on their immaturity.

> "I really didn't think about what I expected from marriage. I was so young" (woman 25)

> "I think emotional immaturity is tied up with having not sat down and worked things out" (man 42)

While it is possible to accept the explanation that a person has not articulated his or her expectations about marriage, it is less probable that an individual has absolutely no concept of what to expect from marriage as an institution. Some image of marriage would have been absorbed by observing their parent's marriage or the marriages of relatives. If this failed, an idea of marriage would have been gathered from the portrayal of family live and relationships in the mass media and popular literature, inaccurate or unrealistic as these might have been.

Still, only one-third of our respondents acknowledged that they had discussed their expectations of marriage and of each other with their partner prior to marriage. This result was somewhat surprising since 21 per cent of our couples lived together before they married and over 41 per cent knew each other for at least three years before marriage. Another 31 per cent were acquainted between thirteen months and two years. A small fraction (2 per cent) knew each other less than 3 months.

In the study conducted by Thornes and Collards (1979) 20 per cent of the divorced sample compared to 8 per cent of the intact sample knew each other less than one year. More than 67 per cent of Burn's (1980) divorced and separated sample also had known each other for over a year and two-thirds had been engaged.

Length of courtship or acquaintance is considered an important ingredient in a couple's readiness and preparation for marriage (Thornes and Collard 1979, Murstein 1980). Longer periods of acquaintance along with the public acknowledgement of an engagement should provide an opportunity to develop a more sensitive and comprehensive awareness of individual and mutual needs along with warnings of potential conflict areas.

Conversely one can argue and the results of our study reinforce the notion that long acquaintance or formal engagement does not guarantee an exchange of relevant information or the acquisition of an in-depth understanding of one's own or partner's needs and of how these could affect the subsequent marital relationship. (Thornes and Collard, 1979).

Courtship behaviour may take place under artificial circumstances of being on best behaviour at all times or under conditions that do not approximate the normal and transitional stresses and interactions of married life. An atmosphere of romance and a tendency to idealise the courtship period often obscure signs of potential disagreement or omens of an ill-matched union. (Hartin, 1977). Additionally, once engaged, couples may find it difficult to retreat from public commitment. Furthermore, even given the best of intentions between partners, future sources of marital strain may be unpredictable at the time of marriage. Values change and goals alter over time, so that it is not always possible to forsee specific clashes of temperament or obstacles to self-fulfillment in the relationship (Hill, Rubin, Peplau, 1979).

Although only one-third of respondents stated that they had specifically discussed expectations, this does not mean that men and women did not have fantasies, dreams and aspirations about the institution of marriage and roles to be played as husband and wife be they acknowledged or unconscious sentiments and conceptions as the previous discussion detailed.

This conclusion is reinforced when the reasons given by respondents to explain their marital breakdown are examined. It becomes clearer then how expectations of marriage, whether they have been met or unmet, have contributed to the dissolution of the relationship. The next section of this paper addresses the breakdown as perceived by our respondents.

PERCEIVED REASONS FOR BREAKDOWN

As we acknowledged earlier, the reasons that people marry and their expectations of marriage influence the perceived quality of the marriage and the level of satisfaction within the marriage for the partners.

Marriage breakdown has been viewed as the consequence of how one or both partners interpret the balance of costs and benefits or rewards and punishments in the marital relationship (Levinger 1976, Scanzoni 1982) According to this theory, partners weigh attractions in the relationship against the restraints or barriers to leaving the marriage when making the decision to divorce. Costs and benefits, attractions and barriers may be psychological or social in origin.

Intervening between the perceived attractions and rewards of remaining in the marriage and the perceived barriers and costs to leaving a marriage are potential alternative attractions to the marriage. Alternatives may include another partner, desired independence or freedom or the pursuit of one's own goals often referred to as 'self-actualisation'. Dissolution would occur if a marked shift in perceived costs and benefits in relation to alternatives took place. Udry (1981) suggests that individuals often take an 'inventory' of the advantages and disadvantages to marital dissolution.

Whether couples remain married or eventually divorce also may be a function of their ability to successfully negotiate conflicts, to communicate, reach a compromise, ignore situations, or change attitudes and later expectations. (Hartin 1980, Epstein and Eidelson 1981).

From a broader perspective, the reasons and causes of divorce have been associated with major social changes that have occurred over the past few decades. These include the changing status of women, increased affluence, the relaxation of sexual mores, and the emphasis on the relationship aspects of marriage over the performance of specific sex-based tasks (Chester 1981, Edgar 1980).

The reasons perceived by our sample as the causes of their divorces mirror both social trends and unique personal circumstances.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between those factors that contribute to divorce from those that contribute to marital unhappiness but which may not necessarily lead to divorce (Spanier and Lewis 1980). Researchers point out the confusion in measuring marital stability, a precise event, against marital quality, a more amorphous condition, since many marriages that are unhappy or have elements of dissatisfaction still remain intact. (Spanier and Lewis 1980, Levinger 1976, Cuber and Haroff 1965).

It is thus important to discriminate between our respondents' reports of marital dissatisfaction and the causes of divorce. Another distinction has to be made between respondents' understanding of the reasons or causes of divorce and the 'actual' causes of breakdown. Respondents may deny, feel uncomfortable admitting or even fail to recognise reasons for marriage breakdown that would be obvious to an outside observer. Caution must also be applied in inferring any direct cause and effect relationship as to why people divorce or to extrapolate the reasons given for divorce by our respondents to the general sample of those still married.

After divorce as Weiss (1975) asserts partners develop an 'account' of the marital breakdown which enables them to accept the event and to integrate it into their lives. This history of the breakdown would include allocation of blame and perception of the reasons or causes for the divorce.

Method

A general impression of how respondents perceived the process of marital breakdown emerged in response to the following open ended questions: 'When and why did you first feel the marriage was going wrong? When and why did you first think of separating? What were the reasons of recurring conflicts? and finally, what were the major reasons for marriage breakdown?'

Responses to the four questions relating to the reasons why the marriage broke down were recoded to provide an inclusive response to the overall question, 'What were the main reasons contributing to the marriage breakdown?' If a respondent mentioned a particular reason in answer to any of the four questions, his or her response was counted only once.

We combined the responses to these individual questions on several accounts. Firstly we had not ranked the multiple responses to any of the questions according to degree of importance or intensity as factors contributing to the breakdown. Secondly, respondents who mentioned a specific reason in response to one of the questions may not have thought it necessary to raise that issue again in response to a subsequent question. Finally, depending on the mood or memories stirred by particular questions or the cumulative interview process, different contributing aspects of the breakdown may have emerged or assumed prominence at varying points in the interview.

PERCEPTION OF MARRIAGE BREAKDOWN

Approximately 11 per cent of respondents indicated that they had not thought (or failed to recognise) that there were any problems in the marriage until their spouse announced that he or she was dissatisfied and was leaving.

> "We were very happy, a happy marriage for 28 years. I couldn't believe it was happening." (female).

> "I was going out to a meeting and she announced she was leaving. It shocked me. I was not aware of the signs." (male, 4 years)

Sex differences were apparent with 13 per cent of men stating they had been unaware that anything was amiss in the marriage in contrast to 9 per cent of the women. These results are consistent with other divorce studies (Burns 1980, Thornes and Collard 1979, Booth and White 1980) which conclude that women are more sensitive to deterioration or dissatisfaction in the marriage early on, perhaps because they have more of an investment in the institution. (Bernard 1972).

On the other hand 24 people felt the marriage began to deteriorate within the first three months. By the time two years of marriage had elapsed, 103 individuals acknowledged that there were serious problems with their marriage. Corroborating these conclusions, Thornes and Collard (1979) reported in their study that more than one-third of their divorced sample believed the problems that led to divorce began before the first anniversary.

It is important to note, however, that a number of researchers (Renne 1970, Booth and White 1980) have asserted that at any given time, married individuals even in reasonably happy marriages may contemplate separation or think about divorce.

A realisation that something was wrong with the marriage did not necessarily lead to immediate separation.

Of the people who did think about separation, 31 per cent considered it within the first two years of marriage and 40 per cent had contemplated separation by 5 years of marriage. Approximately 15 per cent of respondents actually had separated within 2 years and 30 per cent had finally separated by 5 years. At the other end of the scale for 30 respondents, separation occurred between 15-19 years of marriage and for another 48 after 20 years.

Over one-third (35.2 per cent) of respondents however did not think of separating with twice the proportion of males (44.7 per cent) to females (22.0 per cent) making this statement.

Major reasons for breakdown

Analysis of the responses to the questions revealed that the most common reasons clustered around qualitities of the interpersonal relationship, that is the realm of giving and receiving affection and companionship. Closely related to aspects of the interpersonal relationship and often difficult to separate out were feelings of growing apart and living separate lives, the second most common reason given. Negative personality characteristics of the spouse and outside pressures such as work and money problems followed as major concerns. Table 9 presents the reasons perceived as leading to the marriage breakdown.

TABLE 9 in here

The interpersonal relationship

Marital breakdown was most frequently associated with an erosion in the emotional and affective aspects of the relationship mentioned by three-quarters of respondents. Responses in this category ranged from lack of love, no communication or understanding, feeling neglected to general and sexual incompatibility.

A slightly higher proportion of women in comparison with men mentioned an absence of an affectionate personal relationship as a reason for breakdown. Recent studies of divorce and marital satisfaction (Veroff et-al 1981, Kitson and Sussman 1981, Thurnher et-al 1983) claim that a fairly similar proportion of men and women mention failure within the interpersonal relationship as the main reason for breakdown. Earlier studies, eg. (Levinger 1966, Hicks and Platt 1970) in contrast observed that women far more than men complained about the absence of affection, communication and other relationship attributes within the marriage.

(a) Sex life

It has been said that sexual expectations and a focus on sexual satisfaction may have increased over the past decade with the media and self-fullment movement emphasis on the perfect sexual experience or encounter (Hartin 1977, Craddock 1980).

Similar feelings were expressed by this 34 year old woman.

> "I was looking for a sexual relationship that didn't seem to be within my marriage."

A disappointing or incompatible sex life was blamed for disintegration of the relationship by about 16 per cent of respondents, men and women nearly equally, when this component was looked at separately.

Actually, 69.5 per cent of respondents reported a fair reasonable or satisfactory sex life in response to other survey questions. Only 16.9 per cent of respondents indicated that their sex lives were frustrating or bad.

Satisfaction with sex life was generally similar for male and female respondents. In support of our finding more than half of Thornes and Collards (1979) divorced sample claimed a high level of satisfaction with the sexual side of marriage.

The research literature on sexual relationsnips and marriage breakdown is replete with confusion. Burns (1980) for example found that 95 per cent of her respondents rated sexual incompatibility as the major cause of breakdown with 56 per cent of males listing it first and 40 per cent of females marking it second. In contract a NSW Marriage Guidance Council Survey (Weiderkehr, 1982) concluded that less than 5 per cent of clients stated sex as presenting a problem. More recently Thurnher et-al (1983) reported that 10 per cent of their sample gave sexual problems as the reason for divorce.

Nevertheless, our data lends support to the idea that the nature and importance of the sexual relationshp within a marriage cannot be interpreted in isolation from other contributing factors to marriage breakdown, of which sexual discontent is but a sympton (Dominion 1968).

Growing apart

Closely linked to the absence of expressive elements in the marriage was the complaint that the partners drifted or grew apart noted by 64.7 per cent of respondents. Sometimes this was manifested in a lack of shared interests and activities whereas others mentioned the absence of partnership and companionship more generally.

> "The time we spent together we weren't together. Our interests weren't the same."
> (man 31, 5 years)

Not sharing enough activities and interests was a typical theme commented upon in other studies of marital satisfaction amongst both married and divorced samples (Orthner 1975, Holman 1981, Burns 1980, Veroff et-al 1981).

It may be of interest to note that in response to several survey questions about the nature of shared interests in the marriage, approximately 47 per cent of respondents indicated that they were happy with the level of shared activities in the marriage. Here gender differences were more apparent with 55 per cent of males and 36 per cent of females happy with the level of shared activities. More women (48 per cent) than men (34 per cent) also wanted to share more activities with their spouse.

These discrepancies by sex may reflect the traditional circumstances of women having to remain at home with child care responsibilities while men retain more of their freedom to pursue social and sport activities.

> "I wasn't home very much. We didn't get on so I would knock of work and go some place else, the pub". (man 24, 4 years)

Parallel to the idea that the marriage was drifting apart was the awareness of changed expectations or values on the part of one or both partners that precluded further marital satisfaction.

> "I changed more than he did, he never changed - liked the day to day existence which I didn't." (woman 36, 14 years)

For some the drifting apart reflected fundamental differences in values that Scanzoni (1982) refers to as basic conflicts which challenge the core of the couple's marital structure.

> "Her ideas of herself changed and created conflicts that couldn't be resolved when she was married." (man 28, 3 years)
>
> "An inability on both our parts to compromise in the whole domestic, financial and professional areas, because we both couldn't work out together". (man 41, 12 years)

Sometimes this response entailed being informed by a spouse that the marriage was not fulfilling and that the spouse wanted to leave the marriage.

There was remarkable similarity between men's and women's total responses to the general response of growing apart with both recognizing equally that their expectations had changed, that they had drifted apart, had few common interests or held different views.

Immaturity

Often associated with changes in expectations or a shift in values was the recognition that either partner had been too immature at the time of marriage although less than 9 per cent of total responses mentioned immaturity as a main reason for breakdown. More than twice the percentage of women compared to men, however, said immaturity was a cause of breakdown.

> "I think we were emotionally too different too young and immature. I think we just grew apart really" (woman 36, 15 years)

Accompanying the response of 'immaturity' was the idea of having married too young, of not having been fully prepared for the responsibilities of married life or having had time to achieve individual fulfillment. Women particularly felt that they had settled, perhaps too quickly, for a traditional domestic career.

> "I married too young before I'd done any living." (woman 27, 6 years)

Certainly a number of respondents had recalled earlier in the discussion of why they had married, that pregnancy had catapulted them into a marriage before they had expected to marry. Of the 39 per cent of respondents who said they had married sooner than planned, almost half of these (45.2 per cent) gave pregnancy as the reason. Approximately 18 per cent of the total sample gave pregnancy as a reason for marrying sooner.

> "Probably married too young. I married for the wrong reasons. It was a pressure situation" (man 32, 8 years - wife pregnant at marriage)

Personality Characteristics

(a) Spouse's Negative Personality

Approximately 45 per cent of respondents mentioned what they considered to be objectionable behaviours or disagreeable traits in their spouse as provocation for the breakdown.

> "Her possessiveness. She didn't want to let me have a life of my own. She did tend to be a nagger." (man 51, 21 years)

Drinking and violence were the main dramatic facets of a spouses personality that explained the strong sex differences to emerge in the response to this source of reason of breakdown. Of the 41 people who alluded to drinking all but 7 were women.

Drinking was frequently associated with physical abuse and again of the 19 people who specifically referred to circumstances where violence prompted the separation all but 3 were women. Katz (1983) in his study of West Australian marriage guidance clients reported approximately the same levels of complaints about drinking and violence. Thurnher et-al (1983) comment on the decrease in alcoholism as a reason for divorce over the years.

A fairly high proportion of middle class respondents in our sample may explain the lower level of complaints of violence and alcoholism than in other Australian studies (Burns 1980). Several studies (eg. Kitson and Sussman 1982, Levenger 1966) have claimed that spouses in lower economic situations report more instances of physical abuse and drinking. In addition our sample contained a higher proportion of men who may not have interpreted their behaviour in the same way as their wives may have or as our women respondents did.

Self's Personality

A smaller proportion of respondents (13 per cent) acknowledged that their own negative or changed behaviour was a major reason for the marriage failing.

> "Well me and my selfishness, my drinking habits, my mates. It was my fault. I spent too much time with my mates. I didn't realise that till it was too late." (man 37, 13 years)

> "I wasn't ready for the responsibility of a family". (woman 31, 9 years)

Overall women mentioned negative personality traits of their husbands one and a half as many times as husbands referred to their wives negative traits. Conversely men accepted that their own personality traits were responsible for the breakdown by an overwhelming majority.

Other studies support this pattern of differences between the sexes in reporting negative spouse characteristics. Levinger (1966) found that in his sample of divorcing couples, women made twice the number of complaints in general than men and were more likely to mention drinking, verbal and physical abuse as reasons for the divorce. Burns (1980) and Kitson and Sussman (1982) reported the same configuration of responses.

The pattern of attributing marriage breakdown to one's partner rather than to oneself must be placed in context with the answers to other responses in the survey where respondents have clearly accepted that their own attitudes or behaviours contributed to the overall breakdown of the marriage even if this was not defined specifically as a personality characteristic or unsatisfactory behaviour.

Many individuals probably would consider picking arguments or having an affair as facets of spouses personality that were grounds for divorce. We classified these responses, however, under other categories such as 'unsatisfying relationship'.

Infidelity

Instances of infidelity finding another partner or 'playing around' were considered by 31 per cent of respondents as one justification for ending the relationship (and certainly would have been thought to be a negative behaviour on the part of a spouse.)

Not surprisingly the majority of respondents who cited these reasons (all but 17) were concerned with the infidelity of their spouse not themselves. In some cases, however, a respondent admitted that finding another partner had been the reason for the divorce.

Unlike other studies (Burns 1980, Kitson and Sussman 1982, Levinger 1966) which have reported gender differences when infidelity was a cause of breakdown approximately equal percentages of men and women claimed a spouses infidelity as one of the motives for divorce.

Research conclusions are ambivilent when explaining the role of infidelity and sexual relations in contributing to marriage breakdown. Thornes and Collard (1979) emphasise that the impact of infidelity on marital breakdown is unclear because the meaning attached to the term may be different for each couple.

> "... whether such affairs were casual factor to the marital difficulties or whether they were a necessary source of consolation either during the marital difficulties or after cohabitation ceased is not known".
> (Thornes and Collard 1979:114)

Some individuals may tolerate affairs and attach little significance to them while for others it is a fundamental and unforgiveable breach in the marriage contract.

Family Life and Children: Traditional Sex Roles

It will be recalled that over one-third (36.9%) of respondents stated that they had expected their spouse to fulfill the traditional roles of housekeeper, breadwinner or parent as part of their set of marital expectations. Approximately one-fifth (21%) of respondents indicated that disappointment with the way their spouse carried out these tasks contributed to the marriage breakdown.

No clear differences emerged in the proportions of men and women who emphasized this disappointment. However, as anticipated, men and women expressed different opinions of which behaviours or attitudes contributed to the process of marriage breakdown as illustrated by the following remarks:

> "He wouldn't pay the bills. I was embarrassed when the telephone or power was turned off." (48, 24 years)

> "The way she kept the house. I was ashamed for uninvited visitors. We had the highest dry cleaning bills in the State because she didn't believe in washing anything." (49, 24 years)

More often, however, it was the attitude and behaviour of a spouse as a parent that generated conflict in the marriage with 16% of respondents specifying this element as an issue.

In contrast however to other survey questions that particularly focused on issues relating to children, 63.4 per cent of respondents with children stated that their spouse was a good parent and that their own child-rearing ideas were similar to those of their spouses.

The arrival of children is considered to have an adverse effect on many marriages. (Gove and Peterson 1981, Hicks and Platt 1970) The presence of children adds to financial burdens, limits freedom especially of the mother, and diverts attention, time and energy away from a focus on each other to the child.

Some couples did date the beginning of tensions in their relationship from the birth of children. For example:

> "Our goals changed after the baby when she realised she wasn't going to be able to go back to work. We didn't get out so much, our lifestyle was definitely restricted which cramped her a little."

> "I felt as if it was a bit one-sided. He had his own interests which didn't include me and I was tied down with little kids."
> (34, 11 years)

In a few cases, children from a previous marriage were the cause of friction. Numerous studies, eg. NMGC 1983, Frustenberg 1980, McNamara and Morrison 1982, have highlighted the unique strains that the presence of children from previous marriages place on remarriages.

The issue of responsibility for child care explored in other survey questions illustrates the tensions present in the area of traditional allocation of roles within the marriage of our respondents.

Approximately 16 per cent of males and 86 per cent of females said they had the major responsibility for care of the children of the marriage. More than 71 per cent of total respondents with children indicated that they were happy with the arrangements for taking care of the children. However, only 55per cent of those who reported satisfaction with this arrangement were women respondents compared to a resounding 82 per cent of male respondents who were happy with the childcare arrangements.

It is interesting to note that only 41 per cent of the women in this study listed home duties as their major occupation during marriage. Still the comments by our respondents may have reflected the common pattern that women, even when they work full time, carry the double burden of domestic chores and childcare responsibilities, after work and on weekends, plus their paid job.

Obviously for some of our respondents, especially the men, the challenge to the traditional division of labour and allocation of roles within the marriage generated conflict and tension.

> "We had difficulty coming together and sharing responsibility for running the household given that we were working full time." (male 42, 14 years)

> "I felt I was working and he had to share in the responsibility of looking after the house." (woman 34, 5 years)

External Pressures

Factors outside the interpersonal relationship itself may impinge on the relationship and result in enough stress to generate marriage breakdown. Work related problems, relations with in-laws, illness of a family member and money issues were considered relevant to this area. Table 10 sets out the major type of problems included under the general category 'external pressures'.

TABLE 10 in here

(a) Money

Money problems appear frequently as a cause of marital tension in studies of divorce and marriage (Burns 1980, Katz 1983, Thurnher 1983). None the less, few respondents referred to the actual lack of money as the problem leading to breakdown although this was an underlying cause for some.

> "Money problems. It was just that there wasn't enough money in the pay I got to keep us all housed, fed and clothed. I reckon this continual nagging worry would be the main factor in the breakup." (man 42, 14 years)

Perhaps if we had interviewed our sample more recently money problems might play a more prominent role. Marriage counsellors in Australia in 1983 (NSW Marriage Guidance Council 1983, South Australia Marriage Guidance Council 1983) report that the current unemployment situation is causing increasing strains in marriage and family relationships.

More often it was who controlled the money and how it was spent that was the issue. It was this aspect of money that accounted for the higher proportion of women to men who claimed money was the catalyst for breakdown.

> "His unwillingness for me to spend any money. He was terribly generous, bought me shoes, dresses, but he had to make the decisions about how the money was spent." (27, 4 years)

This aspect of money also fits into the previous discussions of negative spouse personality traits or traditional sex rule expectations.

The control of money in the marriage can reveal conflicting assumptions about who has power and authority in the relationship (Scanzoni 1982, Blood and Wolfe 1970). Blood and Wolfe (1970) have pointed out that in a traditional marriage, the husband's economic role as provider and the social status he conferred on his wife often went hand in hand with an autocratic approach to decision-making in the relationship with particular dominance over money matters. Kitson and Sussman's (1977) replication of Goode's 1958 study found issues of authority and dominance by the husband as a cause of marital breakup.

(b) Work

Work related pressures particularly connected to shift work and being away from home in a distant locality were blamed by men more than women as negatively affecting the marriage. Sometimes over involvement with work was the issue, with both men and women recognising this as a factor.

In-law problems are a perennial favourite of TV programme scenerios depicting marital friction. Unlike respondents in Burns (1980) study where friction over relatives was mentioned by 23 per cent of respondents, under 10 per cent in our sample nominated this as a reason for marriage breakdown.

Dicks (1979) has pointed out how unresolved conflicts or incomplete transitions from the family of origin can lead to tensions between partners.

(c) Illness

In a small number of cases the illness or disability of a spouse, child or the respondent precipitated the breakdown. The presence of illness or disability in a family member has been recognized as a factor contributing to family distress and breakdown in many studies (eg. McCubbins and Patterson 1983).

Demographic differences between groups of respondents

To see whether characteristics in addition to the sex of the respondent affected the reasons given for marital breakdown, responses were analysed by the following items: age at marriage, age at the time of divorce, the length of the marriage, level of education, and whether or not there were children in the marriage. Previous studies (Levinger 1966, Renne 1970, Kitson and Sussman 1982, Thurnher 1983) have found that marital complaints and reasons for breakdown varied by these factors.

Overall, the differences in reasons given for breakdown were not extreme when looking at specific characteristics of the sample. Across age at marriage, current age, education level, duration of the marriage and whether or not there were children in the marriage a consistent trend emerged where relationship issues were paramount followed by living separate lives and growing apart and either personality of the spouse or outside pressures as the major reasons for breakdown.

Literature in this area has generally reported significant class differences in reasons leading to marital breakdown (Komarovsky, 1967, Thurnher et-al 1983) with more educated higher income groups emphasizing deterioration in the expressive components of marriage and working class groups centering more on inadequate performance of sex role expectations. Our measures of social class were not adequate to make precise discriminations, nevertheless the overwhelming emphasis given to the affective dimensions of marriage in terms of expectations and reasons for breakdown by the majority of the sample leads us to believe that there was a convergence on these issues.

(a) Sex differences

As discussed in the paper, sex differences were not dramatic and emerged mainly in reference to specific characteristics of the spouse where drinking and violence were mentioned almost entirely by women whereas men were more likely to attribute the breakdown to their own behaviour or attitude. Women more commonly mentioned immaturity too. Thurnher et-al (1983) reported a similar convergence between men's and women's reasons for divorce.

(b) Age/duration of marriage

Responses were fairly similar when the reasons for breakdown were examined by the current age of respondent and the number of years married.

TABLE 11 & 12 in here

A higher proportion of older respondents and those married over 13 years cited negative spouse characteristics as the reason for breakdown. Once children were grown perhaps there was no longer any need to tolerate a relationship for the sake of the children and unpleasant characteristics of a spouse need no longer be ignored. Interestingly, however, when we examined reasons for breakdown by whether or not there were children no differences emerged in relation to spouses personality even where drinking was mentioned.

Those under 35 and married less than 5 years blamed their own attitudes and behaviours most commonly.

Those in the middle age category and those married 6-12 years both emphasized the absence of intimacy or aspects of the relationship the least of all groups. Again perhaps the presence of children focussed concerns on other issues.

Outside pressures least affected those over 45 and those married more than 13 years. By this time the financial pressures associated with housing and raising children may have lessened and the importance of work and getting ahead diminished.

Slightly more of those aged 35-44 appeared affected by allegations of infidelity. No differences were apparent for length of time married.

(c) Presence of children

It is sometimes assumed (Kitson and Sussman 1982, Thurnher et-al 1983) that partners without dependent children have the liberty to separate on more self-indulgent grounds. Those with children would have a greater sense of responsibility and be less inclined to focus on personal fulfillment and be more intent on leaving a marriage where behaviours such as drinking, arguments and abuse on the part of a spouse would have harmful effects on children. (Burns 1980, Thurnher et-al 1983).

TABLE 13 in here

No clear trends emerged from our study. While more of those without children did mention changing values or lack of satisfaction in the relationship this was the most common response for all respondents. Equal proportions of those with and without children left situations where the spouses behaviour was untolerable or unpleasant. As expected attitudes of a spouse as parent and as a provider concerned more of those with children. Pressures of work, money and illness were mentioned more by those with children too.

The presence of children however did appear to effect when respondents decided to separate. In 75% of childless marriages the final separation occurred within 5 years of the marriage whereas only 14% of people separated within this period where there were children present.

CONCLUSION

Although this has been a study of only divorced people, a majority of respondents (75%) described their marriages as fairly happy, family oriented, or as ordinary and average as the marriages of their friends and neighbours until the marriage breakdown. In other words these were ordinary marriages with ups and downs, satisfactions and dissappointments apparently little different from many marriages that do not end in divorce.

> "I suppose it was a happy marriage. Things
> don't run completely smoothly. We had our
> ups and downs but judging by our friends
> it was an average sort of marriage".
> (male 15 years)

Several studies (Krupinski and Farmer 1973, McKendry, White et-al 1978, Thornes and Collard 1979, Kitson and Raschke 1981, Bahr and McNamara 1980) have compared sources of marital satisfaction and disatisfaction of couples in intact marriages with those who have divorced in an effort to develop a clearer understanding of the characteristics that may distinguish marriages that terminate in divorce from those that endure. A number of these studies have concluded that there are often few overall differences between marriages that end in divorce and those that remain intact (Kitson and Raschke, 1981, Birchler 1979, Bahr and McNamara 1980).

Burgis et-al (1963) have postulated that:

> "Satisfaction with marriage is not by itself an adequate measure of success, for either husband or wife may be dissatisfied in marriage where there is no conflict or incompatability, or they may be highly satisfied in a union which has unsolved problems of adjustment."

Cuber and Harroff (1965) have asserted that there are objectively neither good or bad marriages just 'different kinds of adjustment and different concepts of marriage'.

However, while similarities exist for many aspects of marital life between satisfied and distressed couples, the intensity of feelings and frequencies of behaviour around various dimensions of the relatinship may vary widely (Margolin 1981).

When we looked at whether or not there were evident differences between respondents who described their marriages as basically happy or average, from those who felt their marriage had been unhappy or dissatisfying several interesting facts emerged.

The most obvious contrasts observed were between men and women, where 53.8% of men compared with 39.5% of women said that their marriages had been good or happy. This is not so surprising if we recall that more men (13%) than women (9%) had indicated they had been unaware the marriage was wrong at any time and that twice the percentage of women (44.7%) compared to men (22.6%) had first thought of separating. These figures also support Bernard's (1972) observation that marriage as a whole may benefit men more than women and men may have more of their needs satisfied by marriage.

When it came to those who said their marriages were ordinary, the sexes were more equal in their evaluation with 28% of men and 26% of women saying their marriages had been average. Women, again, however, portrayed their marriages as more disappointing than men.

At the opposite end of the spectrum looking at those whose marriages were bad from the beginning, or terrible, nearly twice as many women felt this way. As previously mentioned alcoholism or violence was the reason given in many of these cases for the marriage being classified as unhappy.

A higher proportion of those who had no children (53.8%) indicated their marriage was good or happy in contrast to 45.6% of those with children. Nevertheless, marriage was considered disappointing to about the same degree for those who had children (28.4%) and for those that did not (30.8%)

The reason for deciding to divorce acknowledged by our respondents were complex and varied as the individuals themselves were in their expectations, motivations, attitudes, behaviours and beliefs. For some the presence of conflict, abuse or violence could no longer be tolerated and they sought relief from intolerable conditions. Certainly some of our respondents would have been hampered in maintaining a satisfactory marriage because of personal, psychological and/or environmental disadvantages (Thornes and Collard 1979) In other cases one or the other partner felt the relationship had been outgrown, that interests, expectations and needs were no longer compatible and that by separating their situation would improve or alternatives beckon.

Although there was 'no single thread' that described the intricate tapestry of marital breakdown woven by respondents, analysis would appear to support the conclusion that except in instances of blatant abuse or neglect, the major reason for breakdown perceived by respondents were associated with the absence or diminishment of emotional satisfaction and support in the relationship.

If we recall that expectations of affection and sharing were the anticipations of marriage for the majority of our respondents, it is not surprising that the absence or insufficiency of caring and an inability to communicate or feeling neglected and ignored were the primary contributions to the disintegration of the relationship.

Recent studies eg. (Katz 1983, Geiss and O'Leary 1981, Wiederkehr 1981) of marriage counselling clients underscore that presenting problems most often are associated with lack of communication and growing apart in the relationship. Failures in the interpersonal relationship also are cited as the source of marriage conflicts in married couple studies (Veroff 1981).

These conclusions are in contrast to earlier studies of marital satisfaction and divorce (Hicks and Platt 1970, Levinger 1976) which found that poor performance of traditionally ascribed sex roles were more salient factors.

Craddock (1980) compared the problems presented to marriage counsellors in the 1960's with those cited in the 1980's. He concluded that complaints of sexual dissatisfaction, personal confusion and difficulties in communication were more prominent in recent years in contrast to complaints of failure to perform traditional roles or instances of violence and alcoholism. A number of researchers eg. (Nye and Bernardo 1973, Chester 1981 Craddock 1980) have commented on the recent emphasis on self-actualization or the pursuit of self-fulfillment as decreasing the level of tolerance for unsatisfying marital relationships. Popular media promotion of sexually hyperactive or romantically exciting relationships have been blamed for heightened expectations of marriage thereby fostering an unrealistic standard of measurement.

For some of our respondents these influences were apparent.

> "My individuality was stifled to a great degree."
> (woman 26, 4 years)

> "I felt I had to give up too many things.
> She thought I was forcing her to give up
> too many things." (Male 32, 7 years)

Nevertheless, following Thurnher et-al (1983) for most of our respondents, the reasons given for marriage breakdown were less self-indulgent.

The emphasis given by both men and women in our sample to the interpersonal or emotional aspects of the marriage relationship supports the theory that the companionate components of the marriage - sharing, love, sex, caring - are regarded as the most important bonding elements in modern marriages (Veroff 1981, Cherlin 1982, Chester 1981). When these aspects of the relationship deteriorate the process of breakdown begins and for our respondents progressed to divorce.

The decision to divorce, itself, would have been mediated by the perception of practical and psychological costs and consequences and the balancing of constraints and alternatives (Levinger 1976, Hart 1976), on the part of one or both partners.

> "Because marriage is an institution that places too great a strain on an individual. I have sufficient strength and knowledge and options to choose another way of life." (woman 32, 4 years)

> "I always thought to myself that when the youngest was 16 or 18 I would leave my wife because I wasn't living the life I wanted."

The fine line between divorce and maintaining a marriage may reflect not only the level of dissatisfaciton or satisfaction in the marriage but may be a factor of levels of satisfaction in other areas of life - one's work, friendships, state of health, adjustment to growing older or a general questioning of the meaning of life. (Vines 1979, Glenn and Weaver 1981)

Waller's (1930) remarks of more than fifty years ago still seem opposite, 'He who explains divorce ... should also be able to explain why people go on living together and he who first satisfactorily explains either the one or the other will have explained much'. (p.28)

Implications for the future

Despite the histories of marital breakdown just recounted and the ever increasing divorce statistics that form a background for these case studies, the desire and need for closer emotional relationships does not appear to have diminished. 73 of our respondents had already remarried at the time of interview, less that 3 years after their divorce. The statistics on remarriage and marriage attest to the same phenomina. A recent Institute study of 18-34 year olds revealed that 85% believed marriage provided love and happiness whereas 75% agreed that 'marriage is for life'.

Prochaska (1978) however raises this interesting question:

> "It is perhaps an acnronistic to expect marriages to be stable when they are being held together primarily by the mutually beneficial qualities of the relationship rather than by external supports and restraints of the larger social system?" (p.12)

Our study of divorced people has highlighted the problems respondents had in defining their marital role responsibilities, in working out their sexual relationship and most of all in their abilities to communicate and resolve conflicts. Other studies (Craddock 1980, Burns 1980, Katz 1983) have reinforced these conclusions.

Both family therapists and marriage counsellors observe that effective communication skills, problem-solving skills and a strong sense of self-esteem and competence are some of the answers to solving the dilemma of how to live together in a manner that promotes both individual and mutual growth and satisfaction. (Lewis 1979, Craddock and Olson 1980).

In this report it is interesting to note how similar the contents of human relations education guidelines are to be observations of marriage counsellors and family therapists in terms of the components for successful marriages, healthy families and competent adults and young people. The aims of human relations courses read like a manual for the ideal marriage. For example, the Victorian Advisory Committee of Health and Human Relations Education listed the following aims: (p.48)

(a) develop a knowledge and understanding of the functions of emotion, feeling and caring in relationships;

(b) become aware of the varying attitudes to male and female roles in society and the ways in which these attitudes affect aspirations;

(c) learn to appreciate the power of social forces and institutions (including the media) to influence the development of individual personality and choice of life style;

(d) develop skills in communication and interpersonal relationships.

Unfortunately the learning of these excellent skills often are left to optional courses in the high schools or relegated to Home Economics classes which are composed predominantly of girls who form only half of any marital relationship.

Of course other people take advantage of available pre-marriage education courses, marriage counselling and enrichment services or the many parent effectiveness and self-growth courses now offered under a variety of community auspices. But these are often unusually motivated people.

If we wish to foster healthier relationships we may have to rethink the role of the curriculum in general education and the impact of the popular mass media in influencing how people actually are being prepared for future family and marital relationships.

Modern marriages based on higher expectations and increased equalitarianism require different skills - higher levels of communication, negotiation, decision making and problem solving skills. Decision making becomes more complex when neither partner has greater leverage and where the presence of children requires the parcelling out of limited resources for meeting children's needs and domestic routines. (Edgar 1982, Rapaport and Rapaport 1980).

It may be that we will have to redefine and expand our notion of what constitutes preparation for married and family life. Given a society where a variety of relationship life styles are sanctioned and practical, Macklin (1981) has proposed that individuals will need to acquire the skills to make the following lifestyle choices: 'to marry or not to marry, to parent or not to parent, to co-parent or to single parent, to make a life long or open ended commitment, degree of androgyny, to be sexually exclusive or non-exclusive .. and to live alone or with others'. (p.567) In other words individuals need empowerment to develop 'interpersonal relationship competence' (Edgar 1983) to meet the basic human need to form intimate and satisfying relationships which despite the questions posed above still seems best exemplified by marriage. The attitudes of the young people in a number of recent studies reinforce this conclusion. (IFS Family Formation Study 2, Thornton and Freedman 1982).

TABLE 1 : Men's and women's expectations of marriage and their spouse

Percentage and Number of Respondents

Category	% Male	% Female	% Total*
Emotional Relationship	81.3 (139)	87.9 (109)	84.1 (248)
Children, family	40.9 (70)	31.5 (39)	36.9 (109)
Traditional sex roles	38.6 (66)	34.7 (43)	36.9 (109)
Security	24.6 (42)	38.7 (48)	30.5 (90)
Romance	4.7 (8)	18.5 (23)	10.5 (31)
Nothing, don't know	12.9 (22)	15.3 (19)	13.9 (41)
Other	2.3 (4)	5.6 (7)	3.7 (11)
TOTAL RESPONDENTS			295

* Percentages, total more than 100% because more than one answer could be given to the question

TABLE 2 : Men's and women's selected personal relationship Expectations from Marriage and their Spouse (Percentage and Number of Respondents)

Category	% Male	% Female	% Total*
Love, happiness	46.7 (79)	58.9 (73)	51.9 (152)
Companionship	37.9 (64)	29.0 (36)	34.1 (100)
Trust, faithfulness	19.5 (33)	15.3 (19)	17.7 (52)
Sharing	8.3 (14)	16.1 (20)	11.6 (34)
Understanding, communication	8.3 (14)	16.1 (20)	11.6 (34)
TOTAL PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP	81.3 (139)	87.9 (109)	84.1 (248)

TABLE 3 : Men's and women's sex role expectations from spouses and marriage

Category	% Male	% Female	% Total*
Good parent	17.8 (30)	12.1 (15)	15.4 (45)
Good provider	1.2 (2)	21.8 (27)	9.9 (29)
Housekeeper	32.0 (54)	1.6 (2)	19.1 (56)
*TOTAL SEX ROLE EXPECTATIONS	38.6 (66)	34.7 (43)	36.9(109)

Item total percentages do not correspond to overall category percentage because multiple responses were counted only once in the overall total.

TABLE 4 : Selected sex role expectations of men and women and age at interview

Age	20-34		35-44		45+	
Expectations	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Good parent	14.0(8)	11.3(6)	25.6(13)	10.9(5)	16.9(10)	16.0(4)
Good provider	3.5(2)	15.1(8)	0.0	19.6(9)	0.0	40.0(10)
Good housekeeper	31.6(18)	1.9(1)	32.7(18)	2.2(1)	32.2(19)	0.0
TOTAL TRADITIONAL SEX ROLE EXPECTATIONS 36.9 (109)						

TABLE 5 : Men's and women's family life and children expectations and age now. (Percentage and number of respondents)

Age	20-34		35-44		45+	
Expectations	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Children	19.3(11)	9.4(5)	34.5(19)	23.9(11)	32.2(19)	28.0(8)
Family life	22.8(13)	20.8(11)	21.8(12)	13.0(6)	25.4(15)	24.0(6)

TOTAL FAMILY LIFE CHILDREN EXPECTATIONS 36.9 (109)

TABLE 6: Men's and women's expectations of security from marriage and their age at marriage

Age	19 or below		20-24		25-29		30+	
Expectations	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Security	18.3(3)	52.9(18)	30.6(26)	31.8(21)	14.6(6)	38.5(5)	24.1(7)	36.4(4)
TOTAL SECURITY	MALE 24.6 (42)				FEMALE 38.7 (48)			

TABLE 7 : Extent to which respondents wanted their marriage to be similar or different from their parents' marriage. (Percentage and number of respondents)

	Per Cent		
Response	Males	Females	Total
Everything the same	30.0 (48)	23.7 (28)	27.3 (76)
Some things same, some different	43.8 (70)	33.1 (29)	39.2 (109)
Everything different	15.0 (24)	31.4 (37)	21.9 (61)
Don't know	11.2 (18)	11.9 (14)	11.5 (32)
TOTAL	100.0 (160)	100.0 (118)	100.0 (278)
		(17 missing cases)	

* Respondents who did not grow up with parents were omitted

TABLE 8 : Marriage expectations by economic status derived from occupation

ANU Scale 1 (% and number of respondents)

Expectation	Hi	Mid	Lo	Home Duties	Missing
Personal relationship	85.9 (73)	86.4 (76)	81.0 (47)	86.1 (31)	75.0 (21)
Security	24.7 (21)	26.1 (23)	39.7 (23)	44.4 (14)	25.0 (7)
Romance	9.4 (8)	9.1 (8)	10.3 (6)	16.7 (6)	10.7 (3)
Good parent	12.9 (11)	13.6 (12)	19.0 (11)	16.7 (6)	21.4 (6)
Good provider	8.2 (7)	4.5 (4)	15.5 (9)	16.7 (6)	10.7 (3)
Housewife	15.3 (13)	18.2 (16)	34.5 (20)	0.0	28.6 (8)
Children	28.2 (24)	21.6 (19)	27.6 (16)	19.4 (7)	21.4 (6)
Family life	22.4 (19)	18.2 (16)	25.9 (15)	19.4 (7)	21.4 (6)
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	28.8 (85)	29.8 (88)	19.7 (58)	12.2 (36)	9.5(28)

TABLE 9 : Reasons for marriage breakdown by sex of respondent (% and number of respondents)

Reasons	% Men	% Women	% Total
Unsatisfying relationship (no love, companionship, communication)	73.7 (126)	79.0 (98)	75.9 (224)
Grew apart, Changed values	65.5 (112)	63.7 (79)	64.7 (191)
Spouses Personality (drinking, violence, jealousy)	37.4 (64)	56.5 (70)	45.4 (134)
Own personality	17.0 (29)	7.3 (9)	12.9 (38)
Immaturity	5.3 (9)	12.9 (16)	8.5 (25)
Traditional role performance (housekeeper, provider, parent)	21.6 (37)	20.2 (25)	21.0 (62)
Infidelity (self, spouse)	31.0 (53)	32.3 (40)	31.5 (93)
External Pressures (work, illness, money, in-laws)	52.6 (90)	48.4 (60)	50.8 (150)
No Equality	4.7 (8)	4.8 (6)	4.7 (14)
Other, Don't know	25.7 (44)	25.8 (32)	25.8 (76)

TABLE 10 : Selected 'External Pressure' reasons for marriage breakdown by sex of respondent

(% and number of respondents)

Problem	% Men	% Women	% Total*
Work (shift, pressure)	19.3 (33)	11.3 (14)	15.9 (47)
Money (control of, lack of)	19.3 (33)	29.8 (37)	28.7 (70)
Illness (self, spouse, child)	9.9 (17)	4.8 (6)	7.8 (23)
In-laws	11.1 (19)	8.1 (10)	9.8 (29)
TOTAL EXTERNAL PRESSURES*	52.6 (90)	48.4 (60)	50.8 (150)

* Total of selected variables will not equal the total of the category 'external pressures' because more than one response in that category was counted only once).

TABLE 11 : Reasons for breakdown by age of respondent
(% and number of respondents)

	AGE			
Reason	20 - 34	35 - 44	45 +	Total
Unsatisfying relationship (no love, etc)	78.2(86)	71.3(72)	78.6(66)	75.9(224)
Grew apart, changed values	63.6(70)	65.3(66)	65.5(55)	64.7(191)
Spouses personality (drinking, jealousy etc)	39.1(43)	45.5(46)	53.6(45)	45.4(138)
Own personality	16.4(18)	8.9(9)	13.1(11)	12.9(38)
Immaturity	14.5(16)	23.8(24)	26.2(22)	21.0(62)
Traditional role performance (Parent, housewife breakdown)	30.0(33)	39.6(40)	23.8(28)	31.5(93)
Infidelity	30.0(33)	39.6(40)	23.8(28)	31.5(93)
Outside pressure (work, illness, money)	51.8(57)	55.4(56)	44.0(37)	50.8(150)
No equality	6.4(7)	6.9(7)	0.0(0)	4.7(14)
Other	23.7(23)	26.5(27)	24.0(25)	25.7(75)
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	29.5(86)	34.9(102)	35.6(104)	295(100.0)

TABLE 12 : Reasons for breakdown by duration of marriage (% and no. of respondents)

Reason	DURATION		
	0 - 5	6 - 12	13 +
Unsatisfactory relationship (no time etc)	79.1(68)	70.6(72)	77.9(81)
Grew apart, changed values	61.6(70)	68.6(66)	63.5(55)
Spouses personality (drinking & jealousy)	45.3(39)	36.3(37)	54.8(57)
Own personality	16.3(14)	62.7(13)	10.6(111)
Immaturity	11.6(10)	9.8(10)	4.8(5)
Traditional role performance (housewife, provider, parent)	19.8(17)	16.7(17)	26.9(28)
Infidelity (self, spouse)	27.9(24)	32.4(33)	33.7(35)
External pressures (work, money, illness, in-laws)	53.5(46)	56.9(58)	43.3(45)
Equality	7.0(4)	5.9(6)	1.9(2)
Other	26.7(23)	26.5(27)	24.0(25)

TABLE 13 : Reasons for breakdown by whether respondent had children or not
(% and number of respondents)

Reason	No. Children	Children
Unsatisfactory relationship (no love, etc)	81.6 (71)	73.8 (149)
Grew apart, changed values	71.3 (62)	61.9 (125)
Spouse personality (drinking etc)	47.1 (41)	45.0 (91)
Own personality	17.2 (15)	10.4 (21)
Immaturity	6.9 (4)	9.4 (19)
Traditional role performance (housewife, parent, provider)	16.1 (14)	23.3 (47)
Infidelity (self, spouse)	23.0 (20)	34.2 (69)
External pressures (work, money, illness, in-laws)	42.5 (37)	55.9 (113)
Equality	5.7 (5)	4.0 (8)
Other	28.7 (25)	24.3 (49)

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Stepparenting special skills

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INTRODUCTION

A rising divorce rate combined with the high incidence of remarriage has resulted in a vast increase in the numbers of stepfamilies in Australia. (A.B.S. 1981) A stepfamily is one where there is a child or children from a previous relationship, either living with the couple permanently, or visiting them on a regular basis. Always, one adult is the biological parent and the other has no blood tie, so that one divorce has the potential of creating two stepfamilies. (Conolly, 1983) The increasing incidence of subsequent marriages ending in divorce requires that attention be given to members of stepfamilies to assist the developing of skills facilitating the making of their new family into a viable unit. (Ranson, 1979; Conolly, 1980) In 1976, 47.9% of people who had remarried separated within four years, and by 1980 this figure had risen to 55.6%. (Stewart & Harrison, 1982) There is no available data on the breakdown rate of the increasing numbers who are choosing to live in an informal or de facto marriage.

So far, community agencies have offered few, if any, services specifically for stepfamilies. Moreover, little understanding exists on the differing dynamics which ococur in the stepfamily as opposed to those of the nuclear family. (Jacobson, 1979; Visher & Visher, 1979) Many stepfamily members go to extraordinary lengths to prove to the outside world that they are a 'normal' family often telling blatant untruths to cover their step status. Through such denial, or other more subtle processes, stepfamilies and their problems are often 'invisible' to their friends and acquaintances, as well as to policy makers and professionals. What limited information exists suggests the following reasons for the 'invisibility' of the stepfamily.

A. Expectations of Society.

(1) Most community organizations, churches, youth clubs and schools are not yet fully comfortable in dealing with divorce. Few have made the transition to accepting that divorce is not only the end of that family in its original form, but may mean the beginning of two new stepfamilies if both the parents should remarry. Much of the difficulty lies within the stepfamilies: when the stepparent is not confident about his or her role, this exacerbates the uncertainty and ignorance exhibited by the community. This double confusion tends to lead to more isolation and withdrawal.

(2) A common assumption is made that unless an adult's surname is the same as the child's, the adult has little concern about the successes, failures or disasters affecting the child, or that the child has little or no feeling towards the adult. When a school or organization recognizes only the two natural parents of a child, the lack of recognition of a stepparent reinforces the family's view that they are in an inferior position in society. Keeping silent

and pretending to be 'normal' may seem to be the best course of action.

(3) Parent-child problems in the intact family are considered to be normal. There have been endless books and talks on the subject. 'Parent Effectiveness Training' courses are common and considerable research has been done in the area of parent-child relationships. Yet despite a long history of troubled stepparent-stepchild relationships, stepfamilies have not enjoyed the same attention. Without public recognition and understanding of their problems, these families feel different and outside of the acceptable cultural norms.

B. Difficulties and fears of stepfamily members.

(1) If one or both of the adults has a previous history of divorce and there are problems in the second marriage, fear of a second divorce may serve to drive the problems underground.

(2) Scant literature exists examining the differences between parenting and stepparenting thus leaving stepparents no alternative but to apply 'parenting' rules to 'stepparenting'. When a stepparent is faced with emotions and situations not explained by conventional wisdom or books on parenting, withdrawal often follows with he/she feeling

like a 'wicked cruel stepparent'.

(3) Negative myths handed down with folklore do little to support the contemporary stepparent. Others, more influenced by the overglamorized image given to stepfamilies via television serials, can feel hopeless failures when they are unable to maintain a sweet smiling composure.

(4) Many adults enter stepfamilies with over-enthusiasm and set about 'saving' the 'deprived' motherless/fatherless children. When the children do not respond with the expected level of warmth and appreciation, the hurt stepparent frequently retreats to a hostile, resentful silence.

(5) Stepparenting always involves competition with an ex-spouse (either dead or alive). Fear of criticism, from an ex-spouse or from his or her relatives, can cause the couple in the stepfamily to keep their troubles to themselves.

(6) The inability to draw clear boundaries around the family unit; for example, having children shuffled backwards and forwards between two homes in access visits, often makes it difficult for stepparents to develop clear cut roles.

(7) Couples who do present for therapeutic intervention frequently report that the counsellor had no real understanding

of their problems. At times, encouraged by the couple's desire to be seen as normal, the therapist will treat them as though they are a nuclear family. If the intervention is unsuccessful, the therapist will have unwittingly reinforced to the couple the feeling that they are unhelpable. (Visher & Visher, 1979; Colling, 1981; Conolly, 1983)

One of the initial difficulties in coming to terms with stepfamilies, is the sheer range of forms it may have. In this respect, stepfamilies are much less uniform than nuclear families. Table 1 indicates the 37 possible forms that a stepfamily can have at formation. It includes a marital subsystem consisting of spouses who were previously single, divorced, or widowed, and a stepsibling subsystem of the children the parents brought to the marriage. Also defined are families where the children live permanently with the couple, those families where the children live with the couple but visit their non-custodial parent on a regular basis and those families where the children are only visitors. With the birth of children to the new marriage, there are then 74 possible family forms when this half-sibling subsystem is introduced. (Conolly, 1983)

TABLE 1 in here

The diversity of the problems are thus almost unlimited although ultimately the success of a stepfamily is directly related to its origins. If the grief from the first marriage/marriages has been well resolved by both the adults as well as the children, the chances of success will be greatly enhanced. However, common to all stepfamilies must be an ex-spouse of one or both of the partners, and children, each of whom belong biologically to only one of the two adults. These two important variables cause major changes in family dynamics and need to be understood if the new marriage is to endure.

Design of the Course.

In developing an educational programme for stepparents, consideration was given to holding -

(a) day long seminars
(b) week-end workshops
(c) four week courses, one evening each week.

Problems were envisaged with the day and week-end programmes from the point of view of baby sitting difficulties and from the expected need for considerable time to be given to certain areas of conflict which day or week-end programmes would not allow. For these reasons, the third alternative was chosen, with a follow-up session 12 weeks after completion of the course. It was expected that the participants would gain a perspective on the differences between parenting and stepparenting, and that they would be helped to come to terms with those expectations which are realistic for a stepfamily and those which are difficult if not impossible to achieve.

The programme was designed and co-ordinated by the author.

METHOD

The course was entitled 'Stepparenting Special Skills'. Each course was designed to meet for approximately 18-20 hours, usually spanning four weeks with a follow-up meeting 12 weeks later. Courses were limited to 4 couples with 3 leaders.

Publicity was mounted through the media by way of newspaper articles and radio interviews. However, response from those avenues was universally poor and the most positive publicity proved to be through word of mouth. Emphasis was placed on the couple attending together, although admission was not refused to an individual if he/she so desired. Care was taken to see that ex-spouses with new mates were not assigned to the same group.

Before entering a course, each couple had a private interview lasting on an average, approximately one hour. As it was common for couples to feel anxious about joining such a group, the interview was provided as a means of dissipating some of the anxiety. Additionally this interview provided the group leaders with preliminary information about the couple. It was noted that all couples who presented had at least one partner who was highly motivated to work out their difficulties.

Participants.

The participants were from the Darling Downs and Brisbane areas of Queensland. All were adults who are currently living in, or considering moving into, a stepfamily situation. A high proportion of those enrolling were already living in an informal marriage. Of the total, 35% were married.

The typical age of the participants was between 30-35 years, and they were from all levels of the socio-economic community. The numbers of children involved were from 1-8 per family and these ranged in age from 2-21 years, although no contact was made with the children throughout the course.

THE GROUP PROGRAMME.

It was recognized that, while many areas of conflict and dissatisfaction are common to all stepfamilies, the different backgrounds represented in each group would result in varying emphases being placed on these problems. Examples of common difficulties include ex-spouses, in-laws, finances, parenting and the expectations of society. It will be seen in the following that in each session, opportunities were given for group members to raise the difficulties most relevant to them. In the initial stages, to mitigate anxiety, these expressions were elicited and encouraged by group leaders.

Week 1.

Emphasis was placed on a basic introduction to the course. This session was designed to be as non-threatening as possible. Group leaders acknowledged that some of the members were experiencing a high level of anxiety. Therefore reassurance was given that their presence in the group was a positive indication, not only of their willingness to work out their difficulties, but also of their ability to do so.

It was found that generally, on this introduction evening, the participants were of one of two categories.

(a) those who needed to ventilate a considerable amount of pain, and

(b) those who had great difficulty in expressing any of their feelings.

Care was taken to work towards a balance between these two groups, to facilitate individual input from each participant.

To enable the leaders to structure the remaining nights to fulfil, as far as possible, the expectations of the particular group members, opportunity was given for individuals to nominate areas of particular concern.

At the conclusion of the first evening, each person was given a homework sheet and asked to return it on the following week. This consisted of three questions which were designed to assist members in expression of both positive and negative aspects of their stepfamily.

1. Which aspect of your second relationship do you find the most satisfying/difficult?
2. Which aspect of being a stepparent do you find the most satisfying/difficult?
3. Which aspect of having a stepparent for your child/children do you find the most satisfying/difficult?

In addition, participants were invited to add any special areas of concern not already mentioned during the session, that they would like attended to.

Week 2.

The second evening commenced with structured exercises. These were designed to enable the adults to gain some understanding of the experience of a child having one biological parent replaced with a stepparent. All participants were well-versed in the feelings involved in being a stepparent, but few had insights into the life of a stepchild. The exercises took no longer than 10 minutes and proved to be most valuable. For example, some of the more silent members were motivated to express a considerable amount of pain. It was found that these exercises were instrumental in encouraging group cohesiveness, and ramifications of the insights gained continued throughout the course.

The topics for consideration which had been nominated by the group on the first evening were divided into two, these were dealt with on the second and third evenings respectively. In many cases some of the issues could be grouped together, e.g. "How to cope with interference from an ex-spouse" could be coupled with "Ex-spouse jealousy"; "Discipline" grouped with "Two family systems" or "Rules", and "Fitting children into the new relationship" with "Structure of time allocation".

At the conclusion of the second evening, the homework sheets were collected. Whereas most couples were glad to have the first evening come to an end, there appeared considerable reluctance to depart from subsequent evenings. Couples interacted with other couples, or waited to talk privately with a group leader to check on some area of difficulty.

Week 3.

This session was used to explore the remaining areas suggested by the particular group. Additional issues which may have arisen as a result of the homework sheets were incorporated.

Attention was given to the couples discussing ways they could improve on the time spent on, and on the quality of their couple relationship. It is generally acknowledged by all couples in stepfamilies, that one of the most difficult aspects of managing in a stepfamily is that of finding enough time for everyone to feel as though he/she has had a fair share of attention. The adults especially report that they find little time to nurture their relationship. Parents and their biological children often feel a lack of contact exacerbated by all the dynamics involved in incorporating new family members. This is particularly so when the single-parent family has been in existence for a considerable length of time. The concept of 'contracting' is introduced in the groups as a satisfactory way of resolving difficulties, with mutual benefit for all members. In one example, the mother of an only child for eight years and a new stepmother to three children, was feeling considerable loss of time with her own child. Her new husband felt she should 'send the boy off somewhere' every second week-end (when his children visited their mother) to enable them some time together to nourish their marital bonding. A contract was arrived at in one session where she agreed to have her son visit his Grandmother every fourth weekend and, in return, she is to have each Thursday evening with the lad when she can take him out or spend time with him as she pleases.

Basic skills of communication were discussed with an emphasis on the wisdom of giving 'I' messages, for instance, "I feel completely bogged down with all the extra work in this family" is preferable to "You and your kids have made all this extra work for me". Both messages say there is a lot of extra work. However, the first message is given without accusation, whereas the second is given with heavy blame. The receiver is more likely to respond with "Is there any way I can help?" to the first message. The second statement is more likely to make the receiver feel guilty or resentful, or both.

Week 4.

With the assistance of the Media Department of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, and volunteer actors from the Toowoomba Repertory Society, a series of 12 vignettes have been made. These depict typical conflict situations which occur in stepfamilies such as territorial problems, the pending arrival of a new baby creating a half sibling subsystem, reluctance of step-siblings to share a bedroom, the non-acceptance of discipline by a stepparent, and stepdaughter-stepfather sexuality difficulties. These vignettes were shown via a VCR. Each was viewed separately and discussion followed. Questions were asked by the leaders such as "What do you think was happening in this situation?", "How might the stepmother have handled the situation differently?", "What do you think the stepchild was trying to do?" or "How might the father have reacted more positively?"

These vignettes were very stimulating and all couples agreed that they formed a very valuable part of the course. Each lasts no longer than 2-3 minutes but often the discussion stimulated by them had to be controlled to 15-20 minutes in order to keep the evening at a manageable length.

At the conclusion of the fourth evening, each participant was asked to complete an open-ended questionnaire assessing their own evaluation of the course. To date, this is the only formal method of assessment.

The self report consisted of a list of the items suggested by the group to be dealt with, i.e. understanding stepchildren; coping with rejection; authority of stepparent; financial problems etc. A rating of 1-7 of how well or of how poorly he/she felt the topic had been covered was used. Questions included:-

1. In your opinion was the course, too long, too short, or adequate?
2. If not adequate, what length would you consider ideal?
3. Did you feel there was enough interaction between members?
4. Do you feel you had sufficient opportunity to say what you wanted to say?
5. Were there any areas you felt were not covered at all? If so, please list them.
6. In what way/ways do you feel you have benefited from the course? (If not at all, please say so)
7. Are there any ways in which you feel the course could be improved?
8. Other comments.

Follow up Session.

This session was usually in the form of an informal get-together some 12 weeks after the 4th week and was designed for two reasons:-

(a) To give the couple a sense of well being in that the leaders were interested in them on a continuing basis.

(b) For the leaders to enquire how the couple felt about the course in retrospect, and for the leaders to ascertain that which had been beneficial over time, compared with approaches which appeared to be less enduring.

DISCUSSION.

At the time of writing, seven courses have been successfully completed involving some 27 couples and one woman whose husband preferred not to attend. Six of the courses were run over the proposed four-week period, with a follow up session. One was conducted over two successive weekends for couples from the Brisbane area, as a means of minimizing their travelling time. However, this was found to be very exhausting both for the participants and for the leaders.

Overcoming the hesitancy of stepfamily members to identify and enrol for the course is a major difficulty. On many occasions contact was made by one of the adults with an expressed wish to attend, but the reluctance of his/her mate usually prevented enrolment. Even though assurance was given that ex-spouses with new mates would not be assigned to the same group, the group leaders believe that many stepcouples are kept from enrolling from a fear of discovery by their previous mate, as well as by the outside world. Unfortunately, some see participation in such a group as an admission of failure, or of having extreme difficulties. In cases where custody and child access are sensitive issues, to admit to such problems could be seen to be inviting criticism from an ex-spouse. This is probably more of a problem in the insular semi-rural community of Toowoomba than it would be in a larger city.

Of the total number of participants for the seven groups, only one couple did not complete the course. This couple, both mature age college students, were pressured with examinations at the time and have expressed a wish to join another group. Two courting couples have subsequently married and three couples in informal marriages have legalized their union. Another couple broke up six months after completing the course. The remainder have continued in the marital situation that had existed at the commencement of the course.

Some of the problems which presented most often for consideration were:-

Ex-spouse jealousy. Couples were often in distress with the new mate feeling jealous of his/her predecessor, and feeling isolated from the history of the family. Difficulties were also experienced in maintaining barriers around the new family unit whilst, at the same time, allowing room for the 'other' parent.

The ragged remains of the past relationship. Couples were unanimous that unresolved issues from the previous relationship constitute a major conflict area in their new relationship.

Discipline. All aspects of disciplining stepchildren, and who should be the disciplinarian were presented and discussed. It was noted that the predominant areas of conflict regarding discipline were manners and mealtimes.

Rejection and resentment. These feelings were prevalent in the step-family members, occuring between the biologically unrelated members.

Financial problems. Difficulties were often acute and sometimes exacerbated by more money being paid out to support the husband's first family than was being received to support the new wife's children.

Court Case stress. In families, where custody and access were disputed, acute stress was experienced. Few decisions in the Family Law Court leave all claimants completely satisfied: by the very nature of the disputes, few can.

PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF THE COURSE.

Most of the participants were highly motivated to succeed in their present relationship. This enhanced the considerable benefit gained from involvement from such a group. Some quotes from the self-reports indicate this:-

> "It is such a relief to know I'm normal"
>
> "I thought I was the only one with all these problems"
>
> "The greatest benefit for me has been having freedom to express such negative feelings in an accepting atmosphere"
>
> "I used to feel that if I pretended enough I would eventually love my stepchildren. Now I feel I don't have to be false anymore"

Recommendations for future programmes.

General response from the self-reports indicates a need to increase the length of the course. This need has been acknowledged and within the constraints of limited resources, efforts are being made to bring about its solution. In addition, enquiries have been made regarding the commencement of a course for children. While this suggestion is excellent, limited resources make its implementation impossible at this stage. Recognition is given to the fact that some couples are in need of individual counselling. However, as the situation stands at present, insufficient professionals are yet qualified in this area.

The success of the video vignettes has prompted the making of a second series of 12-20 situations. Production arrangements again with the Media Department of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education are already in hand.

Methodological issues involved in providing empirical evaluation are currently being investigated although systematic evaluation of widely used measures studying the quality of even primary marriage is sorely lacking. (Spanier & Thompson, 1982) There is an urgent need to develop a scale more suited to the remarried population than is the scale already developed by Spanier and Thompson for evaluation of intact primary marriage.

Little doubt exists as to the need of such education programmes and, although it places extra pressure on those agencies working with families, their role must include helping the contemporary step-parent to define the real and complex problems involved in bringing up someone else's children.

> "To fail to do this would be to condemn an increasingly large percentage of our child population to a family environment less than optimum and to abandon the parents who have courageously taken on this most difficult task." (Colling, 1980)

The development of the present course, and the elaborations described above, provides a start in this direction.

Note: The author will be happy to communicate with other individuals and/or agencies desiring to implement similar courses elsewhere.

Table 1

Possible stepfamily constellations at formation

Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband
D	D	D	W	W	D	S	D	D	S	W	W	S	W	W	S
M	FCv	M	FC	M	FCv	M	FCv	MCv	F	M	FC	M	FC	MC	F
M	FC	MCv	F	M	FC	M	FC	MC	F	MC	F				
MCv	F	MC	F	MC	F	M	Fc	Mc	F	MC	FC				
MC	F	MCv	FC	MC	FCv										
MCv	FC	MC	FC	MC	FC										
MCv	FC	MC	FC	MC	FC										
MC	FC	Mc	F	M	Fc										
MCv	FCv	Mc	FC	MC	Fc										
MC	FCv														
M	Fc														
Mc	F														
Mc	Fc														
MC	Fc														

D = divorced before remarriage
W = widowed before remarriage
S = single—not previously married
M = mother and/or stepmother
MC = mother with resident children who never visit their natural father
MCv = mother with resident children who visit their natural father
Mc = mother with children who visit her
F = father and/or stepfather
FC = father with resident children who never visit their natural mother
FCv = father with resident children who visit their natural mother
Fc = father with children who visit him

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Spouse selection and satisfaction with quality of family life in Australia

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Introduction

The comparative examination of individual and interspousal determinants of perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life affords a ready opportunity to study the relationship between personality and social structure. Despite the occasional dismissal of the family as a central institution in contemporary society the quality of family life is a particularly important source of personal and social identity, a crucial frame of reference within which people are judged and judge themselves (Kalleberg and Loscocco, 1983). To the degree that such an analysis is embedded in the value structure and the social background of the relevant actors, it sheds light on the important but often neglected 'face' of psychological sociology (House, 1977).

To examine the differences between personal and couple determinants of satisfaction with the quality of family life poses some challenging questions of a conceptual and methodological nature. The methodological challenge arises from the need to make comparative evaluations of perceived satisfaction at the individual and interspousal levels of analysis. It is best dealt with after the clarification of some more basic conceptual issues revolving around the perennial debate concerning the theoretic fertility of social and cultural homogamy versus heterogamy. Neither common sense nor previous research is particularly helpful in deciding the superiority of homogamous or heterogamous spouse selection for maximising the avowed satisfaction with the ensuing experience. As usual, common sense hedges its bets when it offers conflicting advice in assortative mate selection, for instance, 'opposites attract each other' is pitched against 'birds of a feather flock together'. Existing research evidence is equally ambiguous as it frequently suffers from inadequate methodology and largely relies on ex-post-facto theorising of serendipitous insights from clinical, experimental and survey research. Most of it rests on bivariate analyses facilitated by the proverbial shotgun approach. Still the continuum bounded by complete homogamy and extreme heterogamy can serve as an integrative mechanism for the review of psychological and sociological advances in our understanding of assortative mating as a predictor of future success of the resulting liaison.

Literature Review

Sociological analysis has identified such background factors as similarity of race, age, religion, ethnic origin, social class and residential propinquity as being important considerations in mate selection (Hollingshead, 1950; Morgan, 1981; Peach, 1974). Some variables have declined or changed in assortativeness such as ethnicity (Alba and Kessler, 1979; Carter and Glick, 1970; Tyree and Treas, 1974), race (Heer, 1974), chastity (Mahoney, 1978) and religion (Glenn, 1982). Still the organisation of society into socially similar groups has physically limited and homogamously defined the field of eligibles. Furthermore, similar social values, attitudes and behaviour are expected to encourage more satisfying interaction.

At the dyadic level, exchange models have presented data for heterogamous choices with some evidence of wives' attractiveness being exchanged for husbands' status conferring ability (Bhatia, 1973; Taylor and Glenn, 1976). However, Patricia Taylor and Norvald Glenn suspect the structure of the interaction in such cross-class marriages may concern more other assets such as warmth of personality or similarity of physical attributes than rewards derived from such an exchange. Also, social class differences for such characteristics as child-rearing practices, different ways of spending leisure time, etc, could be thought of as being associated with less marital satisfaction.

Some sociologists have maintained that traditional role differentiation was necessary for successful family functioning (Parsons and Bales, 1955). Compatibility of roles has been endorsed as a basic value around which a substantial part of marital behaviour is oriented. Generally speaking, in mate selection studies, male-instrumental and female-expressive role expectations have been endorsed by males, lower-class persons and married couples (Udry, 1974). Adolescents show strong leanings towards similarity of sex roles and equalitarian norms (Dunn, 1960; Llewellyn, 1975; Lovejoy, 1961). University students have been found to experience agreement and attraction between persons who "fitted" traditional male-female roles (Curran, 1972; Langehorne and Secord, 1955). Conformity to cultural expectations and acceptance of status quo has been shown empirically to enhance happiness, especially for females (Grichting, 1983).

Persons who agree with one another have been found to select one another more often as spouses (Kirkpatrick and Hobart, 1954). Also, married couples selected from an homogenous sample, have been found to be more in agreement with one another concerning some very generalised values (theoretical, aesthetic, social, religious and economic of the Allport-Vernon-Lindsay study of values) than randomly matched persons from the same sample.

Cognitive and cathectic similarity of values suggests the principle of homogamy as an important predictor of marital happiness. Nevertheless, several studies have shown that certain personal attributes have been evaluated as most desirable in a mate, for instance, possession of a highly dependable character (Hudson and Henze, 1969) or males' emphasis on the importance of female physical attractiveness (Miller and Rivenbark, 1970; Murstein and Christy, 1976). Still spouses have been found generally to be more similar than different on such attributes as age, weight, stature and physical attractiveness (Bercheld and Walster, 1974; Burgess and Wallin, 1944; Cavior and Boblett, 1972; Hill et al, 1976; Kirkpatrick and Cotton, 1951; Murstein, 1970, 1972; Murstein and Christy, 1976; Price and Vandenberg, 1979; Schooley, 1976).

Personality and personality matching however has not been found to be an important basis of mate selection. Robert F. Winch's (1958) complementary needs theory predicted heterogamous choices and "sequential filtering" models; elaborating on this initial theory has produced criticism for lack of convincing evidence (Kerckhoff, 1977; Rubin and Levinger, 1974; Till and Freedman, 1978). J.R. Udry (1974) suggests that choice of a mate concerns more perceptions of what people see in each other than what objective indicators reveal. Mutual perception of traits was more likely to be homogamous. For example, married couples feeling strong affection tended to see their partners as similar rather than dissimilar even though similarity was only slight (Preston et al, 1952).

From our review of the research it has been shown that acceptance of conventional sex-role definitions would facilitate marriage goals and enhance satisfaction. Similarity of attitudes, values and behaviour has fostered agreement and interaction between couples. The preponderance of evidence has supported the principle of homogamy in mate selection since socially, psychologically and physically mates are, or perceived as, more similar than different.

Conventional study of marriage and family has focussed on the characteristics of individual members of these primary groups. In using individual members as the units of analysis sight is lost of the central sociological questions concerning the structure of relations among social actors. While the theoretical literature and practical interventions have usually been quite clear that the relationships among actors, rather than the actors themselves, are the objects of primary concern (Blau, 1964; Cartwright, 1965; Krupinski, 1978), little empirical research has been devoted to the detached study of relationships between marriage partners. It is our guarded suspicion that focussing on relationships rather than individual actors will not only prove more successful in our effort to understand the contemporary family, but also modify some of our conventional findings in this field.

Our review of the literature and our personal reasoning may thus be summarised by offering the following hypotheses:

- perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life increases with both instrumental and expressive value orientation;
- homogamy rather than heterogamy enhances perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life;
- analysis at the couple level is a better predictor of perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life than analysis at the individual level.

Data and Method

The current analysis is based on a subset of respondents who participated in the 1982 Quality of Family Life Survey in Townsville, Australia. The total survey produced 411 interviews (=66.4% response rate) conducted in 229 households which were systematically selected from the current electoral roll. To compensate for residents who were not enrolled each nth household was selected and each (n+1)th household was approached for interviewing purposes. All persons of 15 years of age and above were interviewed. In 122 households both husband and wife were interviewed independently; thus netting 244 interviews. While this subset is clearly biased, the entire sample appears to be representative of Townsville since extensive comparisons between respondents and refusals failed to identify any biases (for a detailed statement see Grichting (1983)).

Statistical inferences in this study are limited to the population of integral marital couples of the wider Townsville area. However, since Townsville can be seen as a microcosm of Australia, similar results might be expected if a nationwide study were conducted. The justification for such a sweeping statement is found in the following observations: Townsville is the major city within the region; it has an extensive hinterland, an international airport, a university and an all-important race track. In addition, the Townsville distributions of educational attainment, occupational status, political and religious identification closely resemble the national distributions. Similarly, the mean income and alcohol consumption of Townsville and the nation as a whole are practically identical. Townsville itself is characterised by a work force mainly in the tertiary sector, and a young and geographically highly mobile population of about 100,000 people which makes it the 12th largest city in Australia.

The testing of our hypotheses requires the clarification of the following three constructs: perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life, value orientation and homogamy. All three constructs are sufficiently complex to require multiple indicators in order to be reasonably robust.

The final dependent variable 'perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life' is measured by means of a battery of 10 modified items from the Andrews and Withey's delighted-terrible index. The items are presented in Table I. It is anticipated that those items will form a uni-dimensional scale. This expectation is based on Grichting's discussion of the happiness construct (Grichting, in press).

INSERT TABLE I HERE

The statistical information in Table I supports our notion of a single dimension and suggests that pollyannism was at work when the subjects rated themselves on the ten ladders. Such a tendency is quite common in the assessment of preferred personal traits and socially desirable relationships. A possible remedy for this tendency might be to anchor the various steps by relating them to the centre which could be called 'about average', a rather acceptable statement in a society that professes to value social equality.

The conceptualisation of value orientation revolves around the respondent's endorsement of the relative importance of nine basic values believed to be relevant for the selection of a spouse. These are: good looks, good health, good character, good job, wealth, same religion, education, virginity and religiosity. Specifically the subjects were asked 'suppose you were to choose a marital partner. Please tell me for each of the following qualities whether you regard it very important, important or not so important? Table II presents the mean, standard deviation and overall rank for each of the nine test items.

INSERT TABLE II HERE

Our literature review suggests that homogamy is at work at both the cultural and socioeconomic levels. Interspousal heterogamy is readily measured by the standard deviation of the partners' responses to any item of interest provided the items are either of an interval nature or dichotomous. Reversing the sign of the standard deviation results in a measure of homogamy.

The testing of the third hypothesis requires the comparison of the predictive power of the two modes of analysis, that is, at the individual and couple levels. While our major interest concerns the examination of avowed satisfaction with the quality of family life, we also intend to compare the differential impact on other endogenous variables by various predictor variables at the two levels of analysis. In so doing we hope to demonstrate the importance of studying system properties - various aspects of homogamy, that is - from the appropriate system perspective. The implied temporal sequence form socioeconomic background to value orientation to perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life suggests recursive path analysis as the most appropriate strategy for the realistic assessment of direct and indirect effects on the perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life and on other endogenous variables. In this way the well-known liabilities of the traditional bivariate analysis, which is most characteristic for the majority of studies in this area, are overcome and recommendations for both clinical intervention and social planning can be made in a more realistic fashion.

Findings and Discussion

The factor loadings for the ten items measuring perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life were presented in Table I. In a principal components analysis the first factor accounted for 51 percent of the total variance and (given ten items) the eigenvalue amounted to 5.096. Thus the remaining nine factors are slightly less informative than the first factor in reconstructing the total variance matrix of the original battery of test items. As a result a one-dimensional factor analysis was forced even though the second and third factors had eigenvalues of 1.16 and 0.98, respectively. The factor loadings, ranging from 0.53 to 0.76 and with a mean of 0.68, are convincing evidence that the ten items can be understood in terms of a single underlying dimension: perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life. The eigenvalue for this analysis amounts to 4.57 thus accounting for almost half of the shared variance. On this basis the computation of factor scores would appear to be a most satisfactory index of the respondents' perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life.

Table II lists the nine qualities which were used to operationalise the concepts of instrumental and expressive value orientation in the selection of a marital partner. The selection of items was guided by intuition, previous research and our concern to have a balance between instrumental and expressive items. We thought that good looks, good health, good job, wealth and education would constitute the instrumental cluster - while good character, same religion, virginity and religiosity would capture the expressive value orientation. To test our notion smallest space and factor analyses were run. These analyses only partly confirmed our understanding of these two value orientation as Figure 1 shows.

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

Figure 1 presents a two-dimensional portrayal of the best fit for the avowed importance of the nine qualities for the hypothetical selection of a spouse in terms of instrumental and expressive value orientations. The multidimensional scaling analysis is based on Spearmen rank order correlations among the items. The goodness of fit of the solution amounts to 0.90. (The three-dimensional solution was at 0.97 whilst a one-dimensional solution was at 0.55.) Thus the two-dimensional solution appears rather satisfactory even though our original notion of a neat separation into instrumental and expressive concerns is not fully supported. While it is true that the instrumental concerns gravitate toward the left side of the display and the expressive ones toward the right side thereof, two correctives are apparent. First 'good looks' is clearly a maverick and straddles the distinction of interest. For these reasons it will be eliminated from the remainder of the analysis despite the fact that good looks are allegedly important in spouse selection (Bhatia, 1973). Second, education appears of equal importance to both the instrumental and expressive concerns. In hindsight this is not much of a surprise as it indeed should contribute to both value orientations since education may be pursued for pecuniary gains as well as for personality development and lifelong enrichment.

While multidimensional scaling is most appropriate for the examination of the pattern of value orientations, factor analytic techniques are more convenient for the further analysis of the patterns of interest. However factor analysis of ordinal data presents all too obvious problems unless factor analytic solutions agree with results from non-metric scaling procedures. Table III largely justifies our strategy of substituting metric for non-metric analysis in this situation. Still a price had to be paid; an adequate understanding of the data structure of the remaining eight items required three orthogonal factors: an instrumental factor, an expressive factor and a factor exclusively reserved for 'good character'. Since single-item factors are of little help a two-factor solution was chosen by eliminating the 'good character' item from the analysis. Table III presents the relevant information.

INSERT TABLE III HERE

The two factors in Table III account for 51 percent of the total variation in the data and for 33 percent of the shared variance. More specifically, the four items which load on the instrumental factor 'explain' 22 percent of the variation while 35 percent of the variation is accounted for by the expressive dimension. The fact that only one third of the shared variation is accounted for by these two factors is not as serious as it appears at first glance. Remembering that factor loadings are correlation coefficients between the original items and the resultant factors, confidence is restored in the meaning of the proposed solution which attempts to operationalise our original concern of distinguishing between instrumental and expressive value orientations as predictors for satisfaction with the quality of family life.

INSERT TABLE IV AND FIGURE 2 HERE

Our first hypothesis posited that perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life increases with both instrumental and expressive value orientations. Our analysis as summarised in Table IV and Figure 2 utterly and completely fails to support such a notion: neither the expressive nor the instrumental value orientation affects perceived satisfaction. We can only surmise the reason for such a non-finding. We believe that the operationalisation of the underlying constructs is reliable and valid and are supported in this belief by the fact that both value orientations are reasonably explained given the typical percentage of variation that recursive path models are able to account. Specifically [illegible] percent of the variance in the instrumental value orientation are attributable to the respondent's age and sex: importance for the physical well-being as a condition for spouse selection is emphasised by women and the older generation rather than by men and the young. It could be suggested that women and the elderly are more dependent on adequate provision than their respective counterparts when it comes to setting up house and home which largely occurs in the context of spouse selection.

Similar arguments can be made when the validity of the expressive value orientation is at stake: the elderly and the politically conservative stress the importance of the expressive value orientation. As noted earlier both chastity and religion appear on the wane when it comes to selecting the ideal spouse, that is, such qualities are presumably reminiscent of a time gone by or of people whose value stance is largely influenced by traditional considerations. How then are we to explain the perplexing non-finding? We offer the following observation: hypothetical spouse selection refers to the future; satisfaction with the quality of family life pertains to the current state of affairs. Thus our model may be misspecified inasmuch as current satisfaction with one's family life may determine rather than be determined by one's criteria for successful spouse selection. In a bivariate model where $r^2 = b_{yx}b_{xy}$, the zero-order correlation of 0.09 between expressive orientation and perceived satisfaction (Table IV) requires a path coefficient of 0.20 from perceived satisfaction to expressive orientation given the reverse path coefficient of 0.04. While a similar computation does not hold for the instrumental orientation the argument of reversed causation may nevertheless apply.

At first glance, our admission of a misspecified model suggests aborting any further analysis. Or maybe not. It can be argued that satisfaction with one's family life may mould one's expectation about the ideal spouse. To the degree that past and current family experiences succeeded in shaping similar expectations for both partners (= value homogamy) satisfaction with the current family situation will increase. Consequently we are not prepared to throw in the towel; to the contrary the testing of our hypotheses remains legitimate and promising, even though a non-recursive model with higher-order stage least-squares estimates might be preferable to the strategies adopted here.

Explaining five percent of the variance of satisfaction with family life is rather unsatisfactory and mainly due to the fact that neither value orientation affects the perception of family bliss and happiness. Whatever else such a non-finding may mean, it would appear that neither clinical intervention nor social planning can rely on changing personal values in an attempt to improve the perception of family happiness.

Lest the researcher despair at this point we hasten to point out that the testing of the remaining two hypotheses supports our reasoning.

INSERT TABLE V AND FIGURE 3 HERE

The correlation and regression coefficients in Table V and Figure 3 result from regressing factor scores of perceived satisfaction on standard deviations between marital partners of the seven predictor variables. To measure homogamy rather than heterogamy these coefficients were multiplied by -1.0. The regression accounts for ten percent of the variance in perceived satisfaction. Such a modest performance may appear disappointing but is within standard bounds of regression analysis. Three comments are particularly apposite: first, the variance explained is almost doubled if religious homogamy is included in the regression. However, missing data for this variable would have reduced the sample by 40 percent - an unacceptable trade-off. Second, Campbell (1976) noted that some ten major variables in the study of happiness account for between 11 and 17 percent of the variance of the degree of avowed happiness. Third, the variance accounted for in the present analysis is unique in that it is due to structural rather than personal characteristics. Admittedly the structure is but of a dyadic nature - clearly a result of monogamy.

Five of the seven predictor variables show positive path coefficients with the variable of interest: perceived satisfaction with the quality of family life. They are in the predicted direction and support our notion of homogamy as a contributing factor toward satisfaction. Age differentials do not matter in the present analysis because there are practically none: the mean age difference between spouses for the 122 couples is a mere 2.5 years. In only 6 of 122 couples is the age difference in excess of 10 years. We are at a loss in trying to explain the negative path between political homogamy and perceived satisfaction. Political orientation was measured on a 7-point scale ranging from strong Labor to strong anti-Labor[1]. The finding would not have surprised us if the wives had generally been more liberal/radical than the husbands and thus betrayed the traditional expectation of political orientation within marriage. This was not the case as one third of the couples showed identical orientation and the remaining two thirds were evenly split: In 40 cases husbands were more conservative and in 40 cases wives opted for that orientation. It could be suggested that political differences within marriage are potentially most explosive and spouses come to agree that they will disagree with respect to things political. If this were the case, political disagreement would effectively conceal a more fundamental agreement between the spouses and support our hypothesis of homogamy contributing to family satisfaction. However, our data do not permit us to test such mental calisthenics!

Noting that the bivariate correlation and corresponding path coefficients betwen perceived satisfaction and the remaining five predictor variables are virtually identical vindicates the compatibility between our reasoning and the data at hand. It also suggests that indirect paths may be ignored in commenting on our findings. Both instrumental and expressive similarity between spouses is conducive to greater family satisfaction. This finding should be contrasted with our non-finding concerning instrumentality and expressiveness as personal characteristics. The analysis thus suggests that compatibility of role expectation rather than some objective definition of the ideal spouse matters when it comes to maximising family happiness. Similar discrepancies between individual and interspousal characteristics are noted with regard to all other predictors of avowed family satisfaction. Thus alcohol consumption is dysfunctional to family satisfaction (p = -0.09) but more important (p = 0.18) is compatibility of alcohol (ab)use between spouses. The morale of the story presumably is: If you drink, drink with your spouse![2] Educational attainment is no predictor of family bliss and happiness but comparable educational achievement tends to enhance marital satisfaction[3]. Finally people born in this country rather than overseas claim greater family happiness (p = -0.11); however identical geographic origin is equally important (p = 0.10) in fostering family satisfaction[4].

Conclusion

Our analysis consistently suggests that homogamy rather than heterogamy is important in enhancing family satisfaction. While finding a compatible spouse may seem to be a function of either luck, careful choice or mutual adjustment after the fact, at least two social policy issues appear important in making more likely such optimal choices. First equality of opportunity between the sexes with respect to socialisation, education and role assignment would appear paramount for successful matching. Second, adequate age-specific supply of eligible partners is equally necessary at least according to Guttentag and Secord (1983) who contend that an imbalanced sex ratio tends to produce either an overly protective morality and female domesticity (sex ratio significantly below 100) or a male reluctance toward monogamy (sex ratio significantly above 100). If sheer quantitative supply has such consequences, qualitative differences *a fortiori* would seem to be important in the search for marital and family satisfaction.

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NOTES

1 Political identification is ascertained as follows: "Politically speaking do you see yourself as Labor or non-Labor? ... In general, would you say that you support Labor (non-Labor) causes very much, moderately or only slightly?"

2 Alcohol consumption is based on 22 questions aiming at typical consumption of light beer, regular beer, table wine, fortified wine and spirits on a regular working day (= last 24 hours) and during the past weekend. The weekend counted for 2.5 days and the following alcohol concentration rates were used in the computation of pure alcohol intake: light beer = 0.024, regular beer = 0.048, table wine = 0.15, fortified wine = 0.18 and spirits = 0.40.

3 Education of respondent makes reference for 'years of formal schooling' completed.

4 Origin refers to birth place of respondent and is dichotomised: Australia, elsewhere.

TABLE I

Means, Standard Deviations and Factor Loadings of Items Measuring Satisfaction with Quality of Family Life

---

Now please go to page 3 of your answer booklet. There you see a ladder with 8 steps which go from most unsatisfactory to most satisfactory. I would like to know how you presently feel about the things you and your family do together. Could you give me the number of the step that best describes your feeling at the present time?

	$\bar{X}$	SD	Factor loadings
1 How do you feel about the things you and your family do together?	7.1	1.4	0.68
2 All things considered, how satisfied are you with your family life?	7.3	1.1	0.76
3 All things considered, how happy would you say they are at this point?	7.2	1.2	0.64
4 And how about your family? How happy would you say they are?	7.1	1.2	0.68
5 How do you feel about your family members' relations with each other?	7.1	1.3	0.68
6 In general, how well do the members of your family understand each other?	6.8	1.4	0.66
7 How well does your family understand you?	6.7	1.5	0.76
8 How well do you understand your family?	7.0	1.2	0.65
9 How satisfied are you with the way you handle your role as a parent?	6.8	1.2	0.69
10 How do you feel about your children?	7.6	0.8	0.53

TABLE II

Means, Standard Deviations and Ranks of Items Measuring Criteria for Spouse Selection

Suppose you were to choose a marital partner. Please tell me for each of the following qualities whether you regard it very important, important, or not so important. Let's take the first one: Good looks? Is that very important, important or not so important?

		$\bar{X}$	SD	Rank
1	Good looks	1.25	0.47	8
2	Good health	1.96	0.62	2
3	Good character	2.48	0.57	1
4	Good job	1.49	0.64	4
5	Wealth	1.10	0.33	9
6	Same religion	1.32	0.61	6
7	Education	1.60	0.64	3
8	Virginity	1.35	0.65	5
9	Religiosity	1.31	0.57	7

Note: 1 = not so important; 2 = important; 3 = very important

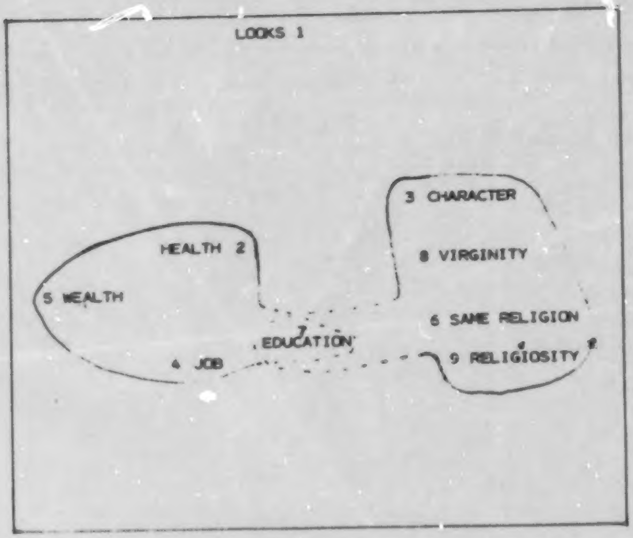

Figure 1: Two-dimensional portrayal of best fit for avowed importance of nine qualities for spouse selection.

TABLE III

Varimax rotated solution of value orientation for spouse selection

Item	Factor Loadings		Commonality
	Instrumental	Expressive	
Good health	0.34	0.06	0.12
Good job	0.70	0.10	0.50
Wealth	0.37	0.05	0.14
Education	0.37	0.35	0.26
Same religion	0.10	0.78	0.62
Virginity	0.07	0.67	0.45
Religiosity	0.12	0.48	0.25
Eigenvalues	0.91	1.43	2.34

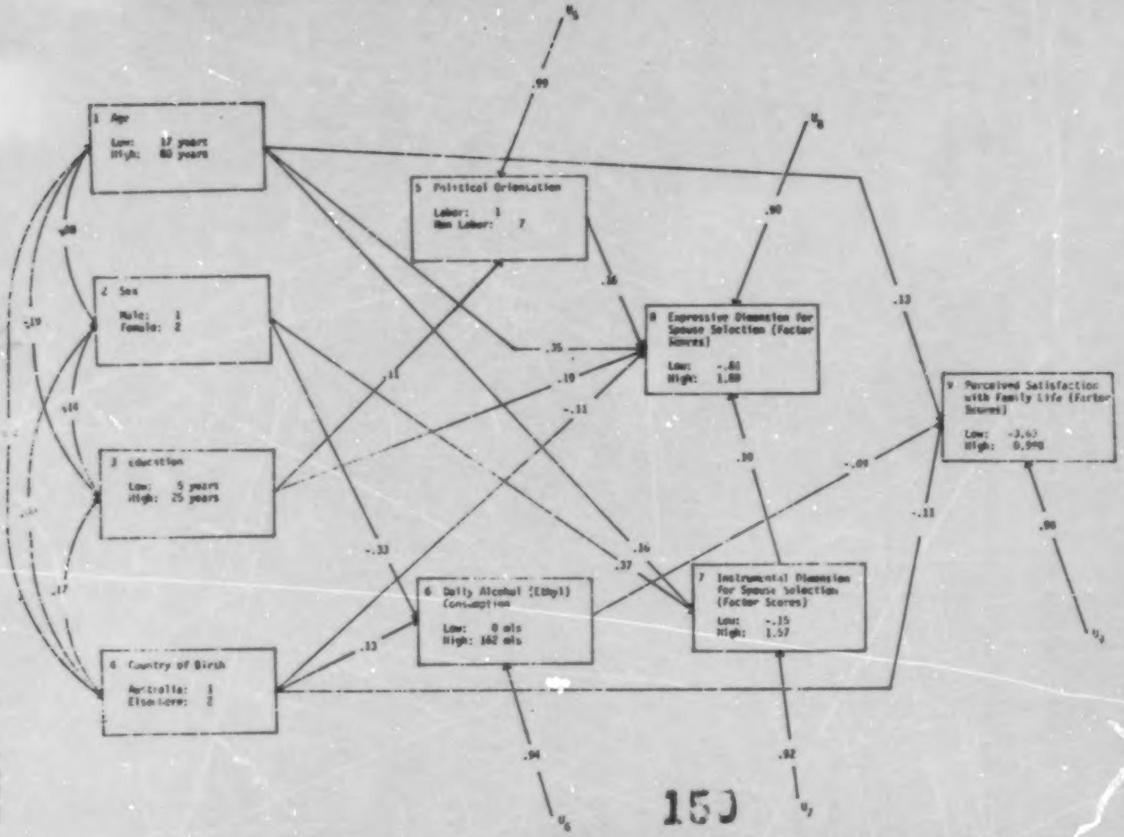
1 Age
Low: 17 years
High: 80 years
2 Sex
Male: 1
Female: 2
3 Education
Low: 5 years
High: 25 years
4 Country of Birth
Australia: 1
Elsewhere: 2
5 Political Orientation
Labor: 1
Non Labor: 7
6 Daily Alcohol (Ethyl) Consumption
Low: 0 mls
High: 162 mls
7 Instrumental Dimension for Spouse Selection (Factor Scores)
Low: -.15
High: 1.57
8 Expressive Dimension for Spouse Selection (Factor Scores)
Low: -.81
High: 1.80
9 Perceived Satisfaction with Family Life (Factor Scores)
Low: -3.63
High: 0.998
.08
-.19
.16
.17
.99
.90
.16
.35
.11
.19
-.11
.13
-.33
.13
.30
-.09
-.11
.36
.37
.90
.94
.92
U_5
U_8
U_6
U_7
U_9

Figure 2: Path analytic diagram for satisfaction with family life (individual level analysis)

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TABLE IV

Zero-order correlation coefficients (lower triangle) and standardised path coefficients (upper triangle) for individual level analysis

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	$\bar{X}$	SD	R^2
1 Age	-	-	-	-	00	-07	16	35	13	40.00	15.00	-
2 Sex	-08	-	-	-	06	-33	37	-01	-03	1.50	0.50	-
3 Education	-19	-14	-	-	11	04	-04	19	-07	11.10	3.20	-
4 Place of birth	-02	00	17	-	06	13	01	-11	-11	1.16	0.36	-
5 Political identification	-03	04	11	08	-	-	-03	16	-04	3.60	2.00	01
6 Alcohol consumption	-04	-33	12	14	-01	-	01	-06	-09	22.70	35.10	11
7 Instrumental orientation	15	36	-15	-01	-03	-13	-	10	-05	-0.01	0.75	16
8 Expression orientation	33	02	10	-08	16	-03	13	-	05	-0.01	0.84	18
9 Perceived satisfaction	17	-02	-11	-14	-05	-10	-01	09	-	0.01	0.89	05

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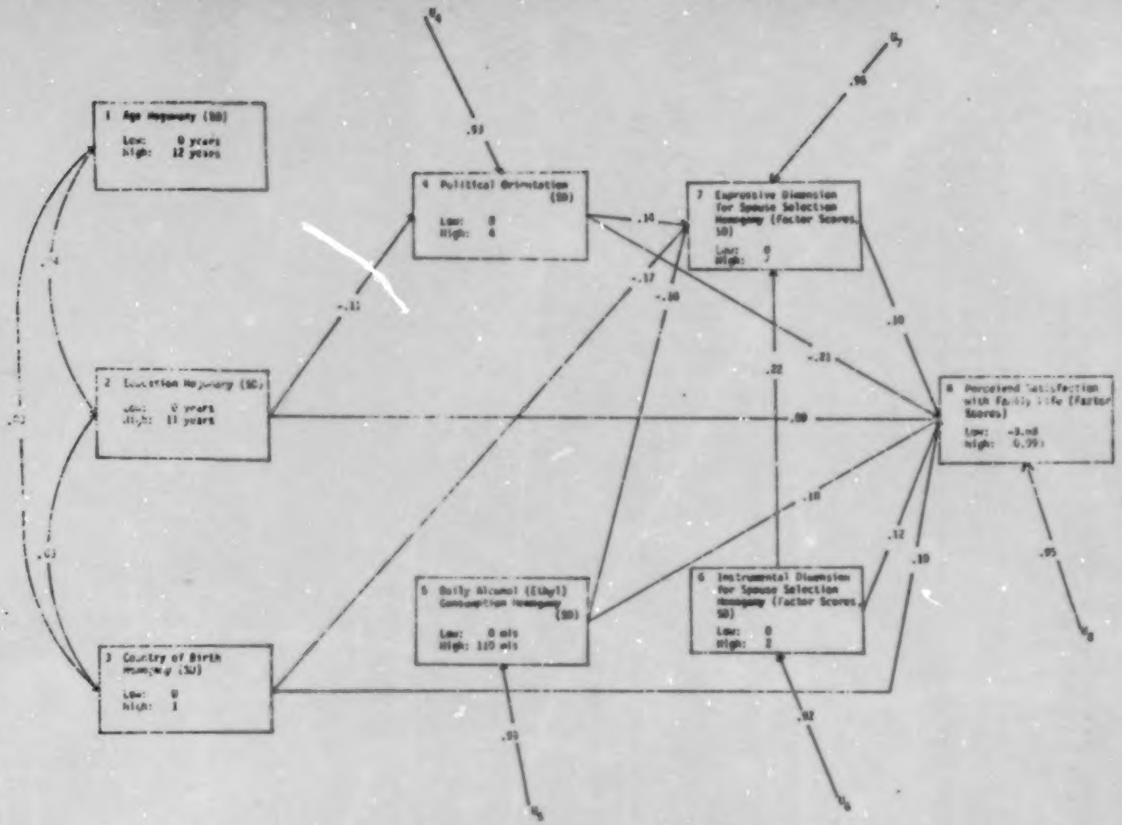
1 Age Homogamy (SD)
Low: 0 years
High: 12 years
2 Education Homogamy (SD)
Low: 0 years
High: 11 years
3 Country of Birth Homogamy (SD)
Low: 0
High: 1
4 Political Orientation (SD)
Low: 0
High: 4
5 Daily Alcohol (Ethyl) Consumption Homogamy (SD)
Low: 0 mls
High: 110 mls
6 Instrumental Dimension for Spouse Selection Homogamy (Factor Scores, SD)
Low: 0
High: 2
7 Expressive Dimension for Spouse Selection Homogamy (Factor Scores, SD)
Low: 0
High: 7
8 Perceived Satisfaction with Family Life (Factor Scores)
Low: -3.08
High: 0.99
U_4
U_5
U_6
U_7
U_8
.93
.96
.95
.92
.95
-.11
.14
-.17
-.18
.10
-.21
.22
.08
.18
.12
.10
.14
.02
.03

Figure 3: Path analysis diagram for satisfaction with family life (couple level analysis)

TABLE V

Zero-order correlation coefficients (lower triangle) and standardised path coefficients (upper triangle) for couple level analysis

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	$\bar{X}$	SD	R^2
1 Age	-	-	-	05	07	02	-01	-04	1.92	2.01	-
2 Education	04	-	-	-08	-11	-04	07	09	1.45	1.74	-
3 Geographic origin	00	03	-	04	01	-03	-17	10	0.13	0.27	-
4 Political identification	06	-11	01	-	-	02	14	-21	1.07	1.02	01
5 Daily alcohol consumption	05	-08	04	13	-	03	-10	18	20.00	26.52	01
6 Instrumental orientation	03	-04	-03	03	04	-	22	12	0.62	0.47	00
7 Expressive orientation	00	-05	-17	12	-08	22	-	10	0.37	0.45	10
8 Perceived satisfaction	-04	10	09	-18	14	13	07	-	0.02	0.87	10

Marital synchrony inventory: A measure of interpersonal perception

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INTRODUCTION

The lack of accuracy found in 'limited contact' interpersonal personality assessment is widely recognised in the field of social psychology (Raven & Rubin, 1983). Investigation of this phenomenon at Wingrove Cottage led to the development of a test aimed at uncovering and identifying specific underlying aspects of interpersonal perception (Judge-a-Person Test; Kahans, Reece & Crafti, 1982).

Given the type of environment represented by the clinic (a private psychiatric outpatients unit functioning as a modified form of therapeutic community) and the needs of individual patients attending the clinic, it was hypothesized that the personality assessment of Wingrove's Receptionists by patients would be positively correlated with the patients' ratings of their own 'ideal self' along the same dimensions. As expected, the results indicated that patients' interpersonal judgements were made according to their 'ideal personality' profile and independently of both the receptionists' personal characteristics and individual patient variables.

This result was seen as a contribution to an as yet unexplored area of interpersonal perception research. If the'ideal' image of oneself is a major factor influencing judgements of others in 'limited contact' situations, what role does this variable play in defining the underlying dynamics of 'extensive contact' relationships, such as marriage, for example ?

Many studies support the idea of partner-similarity in determining marital satisfaction (e.g. Hendrick, 1981) and a few have tried to show the opposite (e.g. Winch, 1955). However, an extensive search of the literature pertaining to the similarity/complementarity of personality characteristics in marriage failed to uncover any investigation of the 'ideal personality' as a factor determining interpersonal attraction and success in interpersonal relationships.

The concept of the 'ideal self' and its relationship to both Self and Partner perceptions in couples presenting for therapy at Wingrove Cottage is the focus of the present study. As an extension of the earlier work conducted in this area at the clinic, a test was designed to expose the underlying relational dynamics of these couples (Marital Synchrony Inventory - M.S.I.).

Assuming that a high internal demand for partners to fit into an 'ideal personality' model is a motivating factor reflected in the couples presenting for therapy, it was hypothesized that a significant relationship would be found between ratings of an 'ideal self' and a 're-make' of partners by each other.

It was further hypothesized that the 'ideal personality' profile would be constant across subjects, indicating the existence of a socially induced stereotypic ideal personality, as found in earlier research at Wingrove Cottage. The determination of such a profile has major implications for future research into the field of interpersonal perception, together with considerable clinical application.

SAMPLE & METHOD

Twenty-seven married couples attending Wingrove Cottage for therapy were asked to complete, independently of each other, Likert-type rating scales on the 15 personality factors of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (E.P.P.S.).

Using a scale of one to eleven (1 - 11), subjects were asked to assess:

(i) themselves
(ii) their 'ideal self'
(iii) their partner
(iv) how they would like to 're-make' their partner.

TABLE 1

In addition, each subject completed the full form of the E.P.P.S. to enable determination of the 'actual' subject scores for each of the fifteen personality variables measured.

The scores obtained in the above manner were rank-ordered, from 1 (high) to 15 (low), so as to determine the relative priority of each personality variable to the subject.

Pearson correlation co-oefficients using ranked data were computed on all couples for each of the 10 scales obtained.

Following the completion of all scales, dissonance variables (Subject sees Partner - Subject Re-makes Partner) were computed for both partners and allotted High/Medium/or Low priority.

TABLE 2

These variables were ordered in a distribution of 'partner-requested' change (TABLE 3), allowing analysis of the relative importance of each variable to:

(a) the individual relationship

(b) the 'breakdown' of marriages in general,
using discriminant analysis.

Marital therapy sessions, based upon the results of this distribution were given to each couple by their therapist, with such sessions incorporating interpretation, confrontation and discussion.

RESULTS

The correlation co-efficients for each scale comparison and their significance level are given in Table 4.

TABLE 4

As expected, these results indicate:

(i) A high correlation between 'ideal self' and 're-make' of the partner for both males and females (Females: $r = 0.9216$; Males: $r = 0.8608$).

(ii) High similarity among all subjects as to what represents the 'ideal' personality ($r = 0.8613$) and how they would like to 'remake' their partners ($r = 0.7013$).

(iii) A major difference between the Partners' perceptions of each other ($r = -0.7135$).

(iv) An inability of the subjects to accurately perceive themselves along these personality dimensions (Females: -0.0200; Males: -0.013).

Mean scores (not ranked) for the 'ideal' (all subjects) are given in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Given their stability across subjects, these scores may be regarded as evidence for the existence of an internalised, socially constructed 'ideal personality' profile, with little or no relationship to the subjects' or their partners' actual scores on these variables.

Discriminant analysis of Partner-requested change for the fifteen variables assessed indicates the relative importance of individual variables to the 'breakdown' of the marriages examined in this study. The regression co-efficient (B) for each personality variable is given in Table 6.

TABLE 6

This table orders from highest to lowest those variables contributing to Partner-requested change.

DISCUSSION

The result of this study - that of an extremely strong correlation between a person's judgement of their 'ideal personality' and how they would like to 're-make' their partner - confirms previous research at Wingrove Cottage (Kahans, Reece & Crafti, 1982) concerning the importance of the 'ideal personality' as an underlying variable in interpersonal perception.

The subjects in this experiment were couples attending Wingrove Cottage for therapy and it would be expected that for non-client marriages the major effect would not be so large. It may be argued that the internal demand for partners to fit into an 'ideal personality' model is a factor that differentiates problem marriages from satisfactory marriages, although further research is required to expand on this point.

The apparent stability of the 'ideal personality' profile across subjects adds a new dimension to discussions of interpersonal attraction and perception. Rather than assessing marital satisfaction in terms of similarity/complementarity, the concept of dissonance (the difference between the 'ideal' and perceived judgements) may better indicate the possibility of disharmony in marital relationships. The 'ideal personality' profile given in Table 5 of this study may provide some insights into the dynamics of the dissonance concept. Obviously, standardization data on a much larger and heterogeneous sample is required for accurate comparison.

The high negative correlation obtained between Partner's perceptions of each other and the inability of subjects to accurately perceive themselves demonstrates a lack of accuracy in interpersonal personality assessment, similar to that found in 'limited contact' situations. This result may be interpreted in two ways. Either, the poor interpersonal perception ability of couples examined in this study contributed to them presenting for therapy, or, the disharmony in the marriage led to inaccuracy and distortion in interpersonal judgements. While both factors probably played a part in the results obtained, the lack of insight evidenced in subjects' self-perceptions indicates the former explanation to be most plausible. That is, the inability of some people to accurately perceive the personality characteristics of both themselves and others may contribute to the high dissonance between their 'ideal personality' (constant) and their judgements of their partners. Further, their poor intrapersonal perception may well produce dissatisfaction with self, with such self-dissatisfaction available for projection on to the partner.

The dissonance concept does not appear to be standard across all variables measured. As Table 6 shows, the variables Aggression, Change, Abasement and Intraception evidenced a greater discrepancy between perceived and 're-make' judgements than do the variables Nurturance, Heterosexuality and Endurance. One can only speculate as to the reasons for these differences. The most obvious reason would appear to be that some personality characteristics are easier to judge than others.

However, this result may also indicate the relative importance of certain personality characteristics to the marriage, with the higher dissonance variables contributing to the 'breakdown' of the relationship to a greater degree.

Although the Marital Synchrony Inventory requires further examination and sharpening of concept definitions, there is no doubt that the M.S.I. has considerable clinical application. Therapists at Wingrove Cottage have found that the M.S.I. facilitates exposure of significant underlying relational dynamics which may otherwise remain undeclared and consequently unavailable for therapeutic use.

Additionally, the results obtained in the study may potentially have considerable significance for research into areas of intrapersonal perception, in the light of the evidence presented here, with the existence of high dissonance between self perception and the apparent existence of an internalised socially constructed 'ideal personality'.

* * * * * * * * *

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TABLE 1

SCORES OBTAINED FROM EACH COUPLE ON TEN SCALES.

	RE MALE:					RE FEMALE:					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
ITEM	Male Actual Self:	Male Sees Self:	Female Sees Male:	Male's Ideal Self:	Female Remakes Male:	Female Actual Self:	Female Sees Self:	Male Sees Female	Female Ideal Self:	Male Remakes Female:	ITEM
ACH:											ACH:
DEF:											DEF:
ORD:											ORD:
EXH:											EXH:
AUT:											AUT:
AFF:											AFF:
INT:											INT:
SUC:											SUC:
DOM:											DOM:
ABA:											ABA:
NUR:											NUR:
CHA:											CHA:
END:											END:
HET:											HET:
AGG											AGG:
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	MALE:					FEMALE:					

TABLE 2.

HIGH DISSONANCE VARIABLES

(Rank-ordered difference)

Factor:	Male's Perception of Partner:			Female's Perception of Partner:			Factor:
	Perceived	Remade	Rank Diff	Perceived	Remade	Rank Diff	

Key:
HIGH PRIORITY: Ranks 1 to 5
MEDIUM PRIORITY: Ranks 6 to 10
LOW PRIORITY: Ranks 11 to 15

(c) Eltham, 1981.

TABLE 3

EXAMPLE OF DISTRIBUTION OF PARTNER-REQUESTED CHANGE (BASED ON RANK SCORES).

	HIGH CHANGE required by M F	MEDIUM CHANGE required by M F	LOW/NO CHANGE required by M F	
BOTH PARTNERS Seek:	Change ↓ ↑	Affiliation ↑ ↑	Abasement ↓ →	BOTH PARTNERS Seek:
MALE ONLY seeks these in Partner:	Succourance ↑ Endurance ↑ Heterosexuality ↑	Order ↑ Aggression ↓	Achievement ↑ Deference ↑ Exhibition → Autonomy ↓ Intraception → Dominance → Nurturance →	MALE ONLY seeks these in Partner:
FEMALE ONLY seeks these in Partner:	Deference ↓ Exhibition ↑ Intraception ↑ Dominance ↑	Achievement ↑ Autonomy ↑ Nurturance ↑ Endurance ↑	Order ↓ Succourance ↓ Heterosexuality → Aggression →	FEMALE ONLY seeks these in Partner:

HIGH CHANGE = Ranks 1 - 5
MEDIUM CHANGE = Ranks 6 - 10
LOW CHANGE = Ranks 11 - 15

SYMBOLS:

↑ = Indicates more of this desired from Partner.
↓ = Indicates less of this desired from Partner.
→ = Indicates little or no change desired from Partner.

(c) Eltham, 1981.

TABLE 4.

MEAN CORRELATION CO-EFFICIENTS FOR COMPARISONS OF PERSONALITY JUDGEMENTS.

	Male Actual	Female Actual	Male Sees Self	Female Sees Self	Male Remakes Partner	Female Remakes Partner	Male Ideal	Female Ideal	Male Sees Partner	Female Sees Partner
Male Actual	1.000	0.0342 P >.05	0.2315 P >.05	-0.1415 P> .05	0.4135 P=.001	0.2495 P >.05	0.4434 P=.001	0.3702 P >.05	0.2414 P >.05	0.3413 P> .05
Female Actual		1.000	0.2071 P >.05	0.3953 P =.05	0.2413 P >.05	0.4155 P=.001	0.4031 P=.001	0.1015 P >.05	0.2223 P >.05	0.1415 P>.05
Male Sees Self			1.000	0.2313 P >.05	0.3131 P >.05	0.1755 P >.05	0.4515 P =001	-0.134 P>.05	0.2341 P >.05	0.3413 P =.01
Female Sees Self				1.000	0.2317 P >.05	0.5316 P=.001	0.1734 P >.05	0.3415 P =.01	0.4135 P=.001	0.1413 P > .05
Male Remakes Partner					1.000	0.7013 P=.000	0.8608 P=.000	0.6833 P=.000	-0.3201 P= .04	0.4096 P=.001
Female Remakes Partner						1.000	0.8893 P=.000	0.9216 P=.000	-0.5498 P=.000	0.5769 P=.000
Male Ideal							1.000	0.8613 P=.000	-0.4098 P=.001	0.4336 P=.001
Female Ideal								1.000	-0.4039 P=.002	0.4213 P=.001
Male Sees Partner									1.000	-0.7135 P=.000
Female Sees Partner										1.000

TABLE 5.

MEANS & STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 'IDEAL' PERSONALITY ASSESSMENTS.

VARIABLE	MEAN	S.D.
ACHIEVEMENT	8.43	1.35
DEFERENCE	4.59	1.12
ORDER	6.75	2.15
EXHIBITION	8.44	2.34
AUTONOMY	6.95	1.95
AFFILIATION	8.22	2.05
INTRACEPTION	9.36	3.35
SUCCOURANCE	4.65	1.41
DOMINANCE	7.45	1.78
ABASEMENT	3.95	1.18
NURTURANCE	9.47	2.21
CHANGE	9.21	1.55
ENDURANCE	8.85	2.05
HETEROSEXUALITY	8.77	3.08
AGGRESSION	5.45	2.41

TABLE 6.

REGRESSION CO-EFFICIENTS FOR EACH PERSONALITY VARIABLE, DETERMINED BY RANK ORDERING OF PARTNER-REQUESTED CHANGE.

VARIABLE	B	% OF TOTAL
AGGRESSION	0.275	27.5
CHANGE	0.232	23.2
ABASEMENT	0.174	17.4
INTRACEPTION	0.132	13.2
EXHIBITION	0.054	5.4
DOMINANCE	0.032	3.2
AUTONOMY	0.028	2.8
ORDER	0.027	2.7
DEFERENCE	0.015	1.5
ACHIEVEMENT	0.009	.9
SUCCOURANCE	0.008	.8
AFFILIATION	0.007	.7
NURTURANCE	0.003	.3
HETEROSEXUALITY	0.002	.2
ENDURANCE	0.001	.1

Correlates of marital adjustment in Australia

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Marital Adjustment has been defined by Locke and Wallace (1959: 251) as "...the accommodation of a husband and wife to each other at a given time..." in the social institution within which they establish a family unit (Chaplin, 1975; English and English, 1968) and the above was used in this study as a theoretical definition. One major objection to such a definition is that of social desirability. It has been suggested by Barry (1970) that 'happiness' or 'satisfaction' are subjective terms, and measurements in this area may be open to contamination by social desirability factors. Cuber and Harroff (1965) pointed out the danger of adopting simple dichotomies, finding both satisfaction and non-satisfaction reported in marriages which were stable as well as in those marriages which were unstable, later divorcing. However, in a study of marital adjustment and social desirability (which used the same definition and measure of marital adjustment as did the present study) Murstein and Beck (1972) found that social desirability was not a major contaminating factor in assessing marital adjustment.

By use of the narrowly-defined measure of Locke and Wallace (above), "marital adjustment" was adopted as a concise and meaningful construct in the present study. As shown below, this construct is widely-used and offers a means of evaluating the degree of harmony which exists between spouses from a vantage point "outside" the marriage.

Factors related to Marital Adjustment

A wide range of factors has been found to relate to marital adjustment. Albert (1967) listed fifteen such key factors, and, although his list is largely loaded with characteristics which the individual gains prior to marriage, these can contribute powerfully to marital interactions.

Dealing with specific variables, Bernard (1966) found that socio-economic status was positively correlated with endurance of marriage, whilst Gurin, Veroff, and Feld (1960) discovered a similar correlation between socio-economic status and reported happiness in marriage. As regards personality factors, Burgess and Wallin (1953) found that happily married persons were emotionally stable, considerate of others, yielding, companionable, self-confident, and emotionally dependent; unhappily married persons showed opposite characteristics. Burgess and Wallin also noted that unhappy couples scored more highly on a personality test of neuroticism. Rogers, Young, Cohen and Dworin (1970) saw a significant relationship ($p < .001$) between emotional stability and marital satisfaction. Weller, Natan, and Hazi (1974), related birth-order to marital adjustment; Lasweil (1974), found age when marrying, and number of years married to be related to marital adjustment; Hurley and Palonen (1967) discovered that contrary to popular belief, the higher the ratio of children per years of marriage, the less satisfactory the marital experience will be. However, Luckey (1966) reported no relationship between presence of children and marital satisfaction. Lasswell (1974), found that the birth of children early in marriage (within the first two or three years) was negatively correlated with marital happiness. Hicks and Platt (1970) reported a number of studies which show differences in the levels of marital satisfaction as reported by men and women.

On the theme of self-evaluation and self-concept, Eastman (1958) found marital adjustment and self-acceptance significantly correlated at the .0005 level. With reference to congruity between spouses, similarity of personality has been found to correlate with marital adjustment by Blazer (1963); Corsini (1956); Dymond (1954); Pickford, Signori, and Rempel (1966). Regarding congruity of attitudes, Byrne and Blaylock (1963) and Levinger and Breedlove (1966) used similarity of attitudes to provide an index of marital satisfaction. In an investigation of the hypothesis that in selection of a mate the individual seeks a person who possesses the personality traits which they feel they lack and which they feel that they would like to possess (the "ideal-self fulfilment" hypothesis), Karp, Jackson, and Lesler (1970) verified this hypothesis. Thus the concept of homogamy or marrying a person who is like the self or the ideal-self seems to well-established. In a review of several studies of this issue, Tharp (1963) sums up by stating that "...mates are selected from a field of eligibles...(which)...is determined by homogamy..." (p.115).

From the above, several key relationships may be derived. Marital adjustment has been shown to correlate positively with: positive self-acceptance, similarity of attitudes between spouses, and similarity of personality between spouses. Other factors related to marital happiness include, sex of respondent, birth-order, number of years married, age when married, presence of children, and number of years married when first child is born.

The process of choosing a spouse and adjusting to the level of similarity in the marriage is a process of adjustment which reflects Locke and Wallace's (1959) definition of accommodation between husband and wife. Because of societal and personal expectations, this adjustment can be seen in terms such as those used by Havinghurst (1953), when referring to developmental tasks. He saw the developmental task as one of learning, and defined it as "...a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of the individual, successful achievement of which leads to happiness and success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by society, and difficulty with later tasks" (p.2).

While Havinghurst emphasized the match between developmental tasks and education, he also formulated eight developmental tasks for early adult years. Five of these are directly related to the marital role:

1. Selecting a mate
2. Learning to live with a marriage partner.
3. Starting a family.
4. Rearing children.
5. Managing a home: (pp.257-267).

The role of marriage therefore assumes some importance for adults in society. Erikson (1959) saw the developmental task as an intrapsychic process associated with the achievement of identity. Such identity could not be achieved unless the individual successfully resolved a number of psychosocial crises. Failure to resolve a psychosocial crisis resulted in some degree of impairment to future personality development. The view that psychic development was prepared for, required, and reinforced by society in terms of interaction with important others was shared by both Havinghurst and Erikson. The societal institution of marriage forms the approved context within which the achievement of intimacy is attained.

Marriage may be seen as a social institution which provides the medium for the interpersonal interactions which are postulated by Havinghurst and Erikson as necessary for adequate role-formation by the adult. As a developmental task, marriage carries powerful implications for self-concept formation and adjustment, with some evidence pointing towards homogamy of attitudes and personality traits as related to marital adjustment.

Measurement of Marital Adjustment

The measurement of marital adjustment, utilizing a variety of hypothesized dimensions, has proven to be a challenge for a number of years. The fact that such terms as "marital adjustment", "marital success", and "marital happiness", have often been used interchangeably in the literature is evidence of the lack of adequate definition of terms and the relatively gross or global nature of the indices proposed (Lively, 1969).

Winch (1963), interpreted "marital happiness" as referring to an agreement between marital performance and the individual role expectations of ech marital partner. "Marital happiness" as such would then be a focus on the intrapsychic satisfactions perceived by each spouse and would emphasize the affective aspect of marital interaction.

Marriage is a cultural phenomenon and cannot be measured in "culture-free" terms. However, "culture fair" instruments (Anastasi, 1968, pp.241-254) have been constructed and are applicable to the population under study here. Marital satisfaction, defined as the contentment perceived by one spouse which results from interaction with the other spouse as in Locke and Wallace's definition of "accommodation of a husband and wife to each other" (above), can be measured via the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test (LWMAT) (Locke and Wallace, 1959).

Variables examined in the present study

1. Marital Adjustment

This was measured by the completion of the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test (LWMAT) by both spouses in each of the 101 couples of the sample.

2. Self-concept

Wilie (1961) noted the importance of self-concept in nineteen major works which attributed a central role in human adjustment to the self-concept. Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) conceived of the self-concept as an entity which evaluates experiences and carries out actions within the structure of the individual's personality. More recently, Maslow (1954) maintained that the need for a stable and high self-evaluation was essential to all human beings.

With particular reference to marriage, McCahan (1973) noted that depreciation in self-concept is frequently found among persons who are seeking marriage counselling, and that where such marriage counselling is successful, a concomitant improvement in the self-concept of subjects may be witnessed. Among so-called "happily married" subjects, there is rarely impairment of self-concept, leading to the suggestion of a significant relationship between level of self-concept and marital adjustment. In addition, Flowers and Hughes (1975) referred to the higher probability of marital adjustment between couples holding compatible values-systems, and Tharp (1963), in a review of factors relating to marital adjustment, cited "homogamy" (i.e., like marries like) as a major determinant. For the purposes of the present study, self-concept was measured by the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) (Fitts, 1965).

3. Values-systems

As a measure of homogamy of values, Flowers and Hughes (1975) suggested that the more congruent are the values systems of spouses, the more compatible they are as spouses. The Flowers and Hughes Values for Marriage Analysis (FHVMA) (Flowers and Hughes, 1975) enables both individual and couple value systems to be measured, and was used in the present study.

4. Other variables

As noted above, a series of descriptive variables have been noted to relate to marital adjustment. Six of these were selected for inclusion in this study, and these are: sex; age when married; children; years married when first child born; years married; birth order.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were 125 married psychology students at the University of Queensland and their spouses. Of these, 216 individuals returned the questionnaire, and 14 were excluded due to incompleteness. All subjects were married persons living together at the time of the study.

Procedure

Subjects were asked to take part in "an investigation into some of the factors related to satisfation in marriage". The voluntary nature of the study was emphasized, and subjects were then asked to complete the questionnaire booklet "in confidence, without discussion your answers with anyone".

Instruments

The questionnaire booklet contained (a) a cover page to collect information on variables listed under (4) above; (b) the LWMAT; (c) the TSCS; (d) the FHVMA.

Results

Analysis of Individual Data

Multiple Discriminant Analysis was chosen as the statistic to be used here because of its capacity to generate linear combinations with maximum discriminating power between groups. Prior to analysis, the definition of Ss scoring less that 101 on the LWMAT as the Low Marital Adjustment Group and Ss scoring 101 or more on the LWMAT as the High Marital Adjustment Group was taken, and two groups thus defined. A description of these two groups appears in Table 1.

TABLE 1 in here

The mean LWMAT total score for all individual *S*s was 110.099, which is higher than the point (100) used by Locke and Wallace as the implied separating line dividing those judged to be "well-adjusted" from those having significant marital problems (Locke and Wallace, 1959, p.25[illegible]). This indicated that the present population was more "happily married" than the norm according to Locke and Wallace. However, the original cut-off point of 100 was retained since this was obtained by using a sample containing both "clinical" (maritally maladjusted), and maritally well-adjusted subjects (Locke and Wallace, 1959), whereas the present population was not screened to ensure inclusion of both these sub-groups. Such screening was not seen as necessary in this study because validation of the LWMAT was not an issue. The first Multiple Discriminant Analysis performed on the two groups defined by LWMAT scores included the following variables:

- Total Positive score on the TSCS
- Six background variables as listed above
- scores on the FHVMA

Results of this analysis are presented in Table 2, and indicate that the discriminatory power of the statistic as applied in this instance was high ($p = .0007$). The significance level ($p < .001$) for variable 1 (Total Positive score on the TSCS) shows that this variable performs a powerful discriminatory function in a positive direction with marital adjustment. Variable 9 (People-oriented values-systems) was significant ($p < .05$), and in the same positive direction as variable 1. Variable 12 (Self-oriented values-systems) was highly significant ($p < .001$), but in the opposite direction: low marital adjustment individuals being more Self-oriented in their values-systems than High marital adjustment individuals. Variable 10 (Success-oriented values-system) showed a trend ($p = .07$) in the same direction. Since the Total Positive score on the TSCS is composed of two sub-sets of score, either of which equal the Total Positive score numerically, two further Multiple Discriminant Analyses were performed using each of these sub-sets separately.

TABLE 2 in here

The second Multiple Discriminant Analysis was performed on the same two groups (i.e., High Marital Adjustment vs. Low Marital Adjustment), and included the following variables:

- Identity)
- Self-Satisfaction) TSCS sub-set scores
- Behaviour)
- six background variables as previously listed
- scores on the FHVMA.

Table 3 shows that the results from this analysis are identical with those obtained from the first Multiple Discriminant Analysis for variables originating from the FHVMA. However this analysis shows that:
(1) each of the three sub-set variables of Identity, Self-Satisfaction, and Behaviour is highly significant ($p < .001$) in discriminating between High and Low marital adjustment scores for individuals, and:
(2) all are positively related to marital adjustment. Of the three, Self-Satisfaction is the least significant ($p = .001$).

TABLE 3 in here

The third Multiple Discriminant Analysis was performed on the same two groups and included the following variables:

- Physical Self
- Moral-Ethical Self
- Personal Self
- Family Self
- Social Self
- six background variables as previously described
- scores on the FHVMA.

Table 4 shows the results from this third analysis.

TABLE 4 in here

Once again results obtained for variables originating from the FHVMA were identical with those from the first Multiple Discriminant Analysis. There was, however, a difference in significance levels for the sub-set TSCS variables. When arranged in order, these are as follows:

Variable	p
Family Self	.0000
Personal Self	.0004
Moral-Ethical Self	.0017
Social Self	.0017
Physical Self	.0161

Thus, the last Multiple Discriminant Analysis enables comparisons to be made concerning the relative power of the variables as discriminators between High and Low marital adjustment scorers. All were positively related to marital adjustment. By summarizing these eight sub-set variables in an hierarchy of power concerning their relationship with marital adjustment, the following list may be generated.

Order	Variable	p
1	Family	.0000
2	Identify	.0001
3	Behaviour	.0002
4	Personal Self	.0004
5	Self-Satisfaction	.0010
6	Moral-Ethical Self	.0017
7	Social Self	.0017
8	Physical Self	.0161

None of the six background variables were found to be significant in the above analysis of individuals' data.

Analysis of Intra-couple Data

Pearson's Product Moment correlation (r) was chosen to analyse the data in this section because it enables a measurement to be made of the degree of direction of the examined relationship.

Calculations of Combined LWMAT Scores for Couples

A combined score on the LWMAT for each couple must satisfy a number of requirements, namely:

(a) The combined score must be a close approximation to both individual scores.

(b) The method used to calculate the combined scores must treat all couples equally.

The method chosen was in two steps. Firstly, all couples whose LWMAT scores were greater than .5

Standard Deviation (i.e., 14.28) apart were omitted. This ensured that only those spouses whose individual evaluation of their marital adjustment was in substantial agreement with that of their spouses were included in this part of the study. Secondly, the means of each of these couple's scores on the LWMAT were calculated and accepted as the combined LWMAT score for each particular couple. From this procedure a total of 56 couples was obtained for analysis. A description of this pool appears in Table 5.

TABLE 5 in here

Although only a relatively small number of low-scoring couples was obtained by this procedure, further analysis was carried out in view of the largely exploratory nature of this aspect of the study. Caution should, however, be exercised when extrapolating from these results.

This pool of subjects was then subjected to the following procedures.

Calculation of Congruity Levels for Couple's Scores on the TSCS and the FHVMA

(i) TSCS: In order to measure the likeness, or degree of similarity, of individual's scores for each couple, a measure of congruity was taken. Such a measure is essentially a measure of degree of difference between husband's and wife's scores, and must be equally applicable to all couples. Since the measure of self-concept used in this study was the Total Positive score, and since this total score is equal to either of two sub-scores, of three and five parts respectively, the measure of congruity chosen was based on these two sub-scores. Two measures of difference were thus made: (a) Sum of Squared Differences between husband's and wife's scores on total Row scores (A, B, C); (b) Sum of Squared Differences between husband's and wife's scores on total Column scores (1, 2, 3, 4, 5). Therefore, high levels of congruity between spouses are identified by low scores on this measure. Low levels of congruity are identified by high scores on this measure.

(ii) FHVMA: A similar measure was adopted to calculate the level of congruity for couples on the FHVMA. In this case those couples who both scored as predominantly Tradition-oriented were omitted from this part of the analysis. The Sum of Squared Differences was calculated for husband's and wife's scores for the six values-systems, and a measure of congruity obtained. As above, this measure was of a low numerical value when congruity was high, and of a high numerical value when congruity was low.

Calculation of Correlation Between Combined LWMAT Scores and Level of Congruity for Couples on the TSCS and the FHVMA

Pearson's Product Moment correlation was calculated for each of the following:

(1) LWMAT : TSCS (A, B, C)
(2) LWMAT : TSCS (1, 2, 3, 4, 5)
(3) LWMAT : FHVMA

Since marital adjustment is measured on an ascending scale (i.e., the higher the score, the higher the level of adjustment), and congruity is measured on a descending scale (i.e., the lower the score, the higher the level of congruity), a negative correlation would be expected were the hypothesized relationship to be verified.

Results

LWMAT and TSCS: (A, B, C); Results of this analysis show a significant relationship ($p < .01$) to exist between these two variables.

LWMAT and TSCS: (1, 2, 3, 4, 5); a highly significant relationship ($p < .001$) was found to exist between these two variables.

LWMAT and FHVMA: This relationship was found to be non-significant.

Discussion

The finding that persons experiencing high levels of marital adjustment are also in possession of positive self-concepts is demonstrated for the present population. Of greater interest are the differences between the relationships of the various sub-set variables of the self-concept and marital adjustment. The fact that all eight of these sub-set variables are significantly related to Marital Adjustment points to a high level of similarity between these variables. However, within this similarity there are some strong differences which shall be discussed below. The relationship between Identity, Behaviour, Personal-Self and Self-Satisfaction may be accounted for by those respondents who see their marriage as successful, generalizing this success to themselves and consequently forming positive self-concepts. Their evaluation of their marital behaviour and themselves as spouses will be positive, thus awarding them a high degree of Self-Satisfaction. These four variables are interwoven and the logic of this process emphasizes this relationship.

Both the variables Moral-Ethical Self and Social-Self relate to how the individual perceives himself as interacting with external forces - his God and his fellows. Positive evaluation in marriage will enhance the individual's sense of doing what "is correct" for society since marriage is a socially-promoted behaviour. Also, commonly held religious values espouse marriage as good, and success in marriage would enable the individual to judge himself as worthwhile in terms of his religion.

Finally, the sexual aspect of marriage is reflected in the individual's evaluation of his Physical Self. A satisfying marital relationship would usually allow an individual to experience success in sexual relations. Also, success in finding a marriage partner may be interpreted as possession of desirable physical attributes.

Individuals with People-oriented values-systems as their Primary values-system scored more highly on the LWMAT than others. Of particular interest in the exploration of the FHVMA is the result that those individuals who are predominantly Self-oriented tend to be less happy in their marriages. This may be seen as a confirmation of the rationale behind the LWMAT that successful marriage is a process of effective compromise. Individuals who are not prepared for such compromise and who see marriage as a means for their own satisfaction, regardless of their spouse, are more likely to experience a lack of adjustment in marriage as measured on the LWMAT. Similarly, the trend towards

Success-orientation as being negatively related to marital adjustment may be seen as a rejection of such compromise, at least in part.

Those couples who experience high levels of happiness in marriage provide positive input for each other's self-concepts, and will tend to experience similarly high levels of positive self-concept. An interesting result found here was the difference between the two sub-sets of TSCS variables and their relationship with marital adjustment. It would appear that there is a likelihood of greater marital adjustment for those couples who have congruence of self-concepts in areas of Physical self, Moral-Ethical self, Personal self, Family self, Social self, than for those who have congruence of self-concepts in Identity, Self-Satisfaction, and Behaviour. However, the size of the sample (n = 56; High = 48, Low = 8), prevents reliable conclusions to be drawn in this area of analysis. Further investigation with a broader and larger sample is needed.

There was no significant relationship between congruence of values-systems and marital adjustment for couples. Apart from the abovementioned need for greater subject numbers, the theoretical basis given by Flowers and Hughes (1975) may allow for this. Those couples who hold conflicting Primary value systems would perhaps be able to compromise along their Secondary values-systems which were not within the scope of the present study. However, this explanation now takes the form of a post hoc argument, and may be validly questioned. If the level of congruence between couples on their Primary values-systems is not (as Flowers and Hughes suggest) related to their marital adjustment as measured herein, then further investigaton of the rationale behind Flowers and Hughes' contention is necessary. Unfortunately, Flowers and Hughes (1975) offer no causal argument for their contention that "...Persons with the same values are generally compatible, communicate easily, and have little conflict" (p.33).

An alternative explanation may lie in the differing rationales behind the two instruments - the LWMAT and the FHVMA. Whilst the LWMAT is established as measuring the degree of "accommodation" between couples, thus implying a chosen response on the part of the spouses, the FHVMA makes no measure of such choice. It may be that congruence of values-systems is a far less powerful factor in determining marital harmony than is the choice made by spouses to accommodate each other (and each other's values-systems). It is the opinion of more than one author that such compromise is the basis of marital harmony

(Dreikers, 1946; Ellis and Harper, 1975; Ford, 1974; O'Connor, 1976). Therefore, the level of congruity in values-systems between spouses may hold no necessary relationship with the level of marital adjustment as experienced by the couple. Once again, the small number of subjects obtained for analysis renders generalization unreliable.

Each of the six background variables has been shown to significantly relate to marital adjustment in other studies, but not in the present study. It may be suggested that none of these variables, taken separately or in combination, is a powerful indicator of marital adjustment in populations such as university pscyhology students and their spouses.

Implications for Marriage Counselling

The relationship between marital adjustment, self-concept, and values-systems argues for the importance for early intervention in marriage problems when a higher level of motivation for change may be expected to work in favour of successful marriage counselling (Hall, 1976). Particular reference may be made to a developmental counselling framework in which:

(a) primary prevention;
(b) developmental intervention;
(c) transitional support; and
(d) crisis intervention, form a basis for provision of counselling services.

The present study is applicable to developmental counselling in three ways:

(a) for primary prevention: since self-concept and values-systems are related to marital adjustment, then pre-marital counselling could be directed towards assessment of self-concept and values-systems of prospective marriage partners and exploring with them the likelihood of marital conflict and methods to meet this conflict if it did occur;

(b) in developmental intervention: mental health training groups for marital partners who possess negative self-concepts could be a medium for teaching both the necessity of, and practical techniques for, satisfaction of self-esteem needs within the structure of the desired marital relationship;

(c) in transitional support and crisis intervention with persons experiencing marital difficulties: counselling could be aimed at improvement of spouses' self-concepts and teaching them how to gain maximum self-worth from their marriage, as well as the recognition of conflict based on non-compatible values-systems and the means to resolve this conflict.

Although subject to some limitations, the results of this study indicate a positive relationship between self-concept and marital adjustment. From this finding, the recommendation can be made for marriage counselling centres to establish both pre-marriage counselling services and marriage outreach services designed to increase the positive self-concepts of married and prospective married persons within the context of the marital relationship, and thereby exert a positive impact on the marital adjustment of these persons.

One technique suggested by Hall (1976) for increasing the positive self-concepts of such persons would be to apply seven marital self-concept building skills that have been suggested throughout the literature. These skills are:

1. Learning how to listen effectively to the other partner's feelings and verbalizations.
2. Learning the importance of realistic marital self-disclosure and genuineness.
3. Learning to be flexible and to make compromise solutions.
4. Learning the importance of being responsible in a marital relationship; for example, respecting the other spouse, not attacking character, or blaming, or rehashing old arguments.
5. Developing an understanding of each partner's unique needs and sexual role requirements.

6. Learning the importance of marital involvement, the factors that cause it to fade, methods for monitoring the involvement level, and the techniques for maintaining and rebuilding marital involvement.

7. Learning both the importance of, and the skills necessary to develop friendships with other married persons in order to share common goals and problems with them and gain the cultural support that they can provide.

These seven self-concept building skills could be taught through marital relations courses, marital counselling groups, and through marriage counselling with individual couples. The particular method chosen would depend on a couple's self-concept and marital adjustment level (Hall, 1976, p.86).

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TABLE 1

LWMAT scores for all Respondents

Description	n	per cent	x	s.d.	range
High	146	72.27	123.97	17.52	101-158
Low	56	27.73	72.98	23.05	18-100
Total	202	100.00	110.09	28.56	18-158

TABLE 2

Multiple Discriminant Analysis (1)

Wilks Lambda = .828

d.f. = 13 and 188

F ratio = 2.997

p = .0007

χ^2 = 36.636. d.f. = 13. p = .0008

Unvariate F tests. d.f.b. = 1. d.f.w. = 200

	Variable	F ratio	p
1	Total positive score	19.5148	.0001
2	Sex	.0979	.7981
3	Age when married	1.1925	.2756
4	Children in marriage	.0024	.9695
5	Year when first child born	.0124	.9286
6	Years married	2.3530	.1226
7	Birth-order	.2893	.6802
8	Reality-oriented	1.2293	.2680
9	People-oriented	4.2156	.0388
10	Success-oriented	3.1698	.0728
11	Tradition-oriented	1.3200	.2509
12	Self-oriented	12.3799	.0029
13	Security-oriented	.0639	.8343

Group Means for significant variables

	Variable	Low	High
1	Total positive score	331.3571	354.7055
9	People-oriented	31.6071	35.2260
10	Success-oriented	6.4821	5.1438
12	Self-oriented	3.4286	1.4795

TABLE 3

Multiple Discriminant Analysis (2)

Wilks Lambda = .828

d.f. = 15 and 186

F ratio = 2.572

p = .0019

χ^2 = 36.469. d.f. = 15. p = .002

Unvariate F tests. d.f.b. = 1. d.f.w. = 200

	Variable	F ratio	p
1	Identity	18.5522	.0001
2	Self-Satisfaction	11.9923	.0010
3	Behaviour	17.1215	.0002
4	Sex	.0979	.7981
5	Age when married	1.1925	.2756
6	Children in marriage	.0024	.9695
7	Year when first child born	.0124	.9286
8	Years married	2.3530	.1226
9	Birth order	.2893	.6802
10	Reality-oriented	1.2293	.2580
11	People-oriented	4.2156	.0388
12	Success-oriented	3.1698	.0728
13	Tradition-oriented	1.3200	.2505
14	Self-oriented	12.3799	.0009
15	Security-oriented	.0639	.8343

Group Means for significant variables

	Variable	Low	High
1	Identity	117.4107	124.7740
2	Self-Satisfaction	107.3393	115.5342
3	Behaviour	106.6071	114.3975
11	People-oriented	31.6071	35.2260
12	Success-oriented	6.4821	5.1438
14	Security-oriented	3.4286	1.4795

TABLE 4

Multiple Discriminant Analysis (3)

Wilks Lambda = .801

d.f. = 17 and 184

F ratio = 2.686

p = .0008

χ^2 = 42.667. d.f. = 17. p = .0009

Unvariate F tests. d.f.b. = 1. d.f.w. = 200

	Variable	F ratio	p
1	Physical	5.7936	.0161
2	Moral-Ethical Self	10.6029	.0017
3	Personal Self	14.3829	.0004
4	Family Self	26.5782	.0000
5	Social Self	10.6789	.0017
6	Sex	.0979	.7981
7	Age when married	1.1925	.2756
8	Children in marriage	.0024	.9695
9	Years when first child born	.0124	.9286
10	Years married	2.3530	.1226
11	Birth-order	.2803	.6802
12	Reality-oriented	1.2293	.2680
13	People-oriented	4.2156	.0388
14	Success-oriented	3.1698	.0728
15	Tradition-oriented	1.3200	.2505
16	Self-oriented	12.3799	.0009
17	Security-oriented	.0639	.8343

Group Means for significant variables

	Variable	Low	High
1	Physical Self	66.5714	69.8562
2	Moral-Ethical Self	69.6071	73.5616
3	Personal Self	63.0536	68.3014
4	Family Self	67.6607	74.1233
5	Social Self	64.4643	68.8630
13	People-oriented	31.6071	35.2260
14	Success-oriented	6.4821	5.1438
16	Security-oriented	3.4286	1.4795

TABLE 5

LWMAT scores for couples

Description	n	per cent	x	s.d..	range
High	48	85.72	124.25	14.45	101-149.5
Low	8	14.28	66.87	28.06	21.5-92
Total	56	100.00	116.06	26.25	21.5-149.5

Family cohesion: A delphi investigation

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INTRODUCTION

Most child health workers agree that the family unit has a profound impact on the psychosocial development of the child. In turn, the impact on marital partners of having children is another aspect of family life which has been documented qualitatively (Lerner and Spanier, 1978). However, certain aspects of the relationship between spouses and children have been shown to attract paradoxically polar behaviour for different families (Nixon and Pearn, 1977) in an investigation of the intrafamily dynamics of 111 cases of drowning and near-drowning, found that none of the 54 families of surviving children separated following the incident. By contrast, 24% of parent dyads did separate following the fatal drowning of a child. Thirty-one percent of the parent-dyads where a child died reported that the tragedy had brought them closer together.

The question must be asked why some families despite adverse circumstances are able to weld the family into a more cohesive unit while other families disintegrate and the members go their separate ways? Some families are able to overcome what appear to be tremendous adversity time after time while other families succumb to minor crisis.

Studies of family interaction have referred to the quality of marital relationships by such various labels as adjustment (Gover, 1963); marital satisfaction (Goode, 1962); marital stability (Becker et al., 1977); happiness within marriage (Glenn and Weaver, 1978); sexual congeniality (Dentler and Pineo, 1960) and a number of other themes reviewed by Lewis and Spanier (1979).

The concept of family cohesiveness has been used by Olsen et al., (1979) to describe this particular quality in families which he has defined as "the emotional bonding that family members have toward one another". This concept of family cohesion has been further developed by Bilbro and Dreyer (1981) and updated by Olsen himself (Olsen et al., 1983).

One approach to the problem of consensus about the concept of family cohesion is to use a Delphi investigation to generate themes or items considered relevant. This paper reports such a Delphi study undertaken to delineate themes perceived as important for family cohesion by university academic staff members.

METHODS

Subjects: Academic staff in five university human care departments formed the subjects for this study. All 120 teaching and research graduate staff of the Departments of Child Health, Social Work, Psychology, Anthropology and Sociology, and Education at the University of Queensland was circulated with a letter inviting them to participate in a Delphi study of family cohesion. Each was furnished with a reply form providing space to affirm or decline the invitation. Those who did not reply to the invitaiton were contacted on the telephone or by personal note and a further invitation was extended. Assurance was given in the first letter that the names of individual participants would remain confidential.

Delphi procedure: A traditional Delphi approach was used in this study (Weatherman and Swenson, 1974; Linstone and Turoff, 1975). The Delphi technique is a group communication process used to produce a consensus or corporate statement about complex problems, usually of a subjective nature. The technique exploits the theme that individuals respond rationally to feed-back concerning peer opinions.

In this study a three-round technique was used; (a) collection and collation of non-structured items generated by the subjects; (b) the generation of a crude score of grouped items, with subsequent ranking by the controller; and (c) feed-back, test-retest validation of ranks and scoring of the top 50 items. The respondents who accepted the invitation to participate were circulated with a simple form and a letter thanking them for accepting, outlining the Delphi process and requesting them to tabulate "factors enhancing family cohesion" and secondly, "factors leading to families splitting up". The individual items listed as "factors leading to cohesion" were transferred from the return forms to individual index cards. Two independent judges then sorted the cards into groups which encompassed common themes. The number and type of these groups was not pre-determined and was a direct result of the subject-generated individual themes. Ten common themes emerged from the 119 individual items generated. The judges also sorted the items listed as "factors leading to families splitting up".

In round two, the items were presented to the subjects grouped in the 10 groups of common themes. The subjects were invited to rate each item on a five point Likert-type Scale. The items in this round were placed in a randomly ascribed order within the groups and the groups were compiled in such a way that no group of items was presented first in the respondents' questionnaires more than any other group of items. The ratings given for the individual items were then ranked by the controller.

In round three of the study all respondents received a questionnaire containing the 50 highest ranked items from round two in rank order. These items were not grouped but were recirculated to respondents with the request that they rate each item on a scale of 0 to 100 according to the perceived individual contribution of each item to family cohesion.

A computer file was generated to contain the responses to round one and two. The Johnsons Algorithm for hierarchical clustering was used to obtain inter-item correlations using the "connectedness" method for the responses to round one. The outcome thus comprised a ranked list with individual scores of items perceived to be important by this professional academic population.

RESULTS

Delphi Round 1:

Seventy-two individuals from the invited pool of 120 university staff agreed to participate in the Delphi investigation. Fifty-seven replies to round one were received (17 females and 40 males). Forty-one respondents were married or living in partnerships; ten were separated or divorced and six were single. The 57 respondents generated a total of 119 distinct items. The 119 items were grouped by two judges sequentially as independent observers, with consensus decisions made on disparate items. Ten distinct themes or groups emerged from inspection of the submitted 119 items. These comprised:- interpersonal feelings and behaviour, communication, decision making and problem solving, personal traits, children and child rearing, values, the family as a system, influences acting on a couple, religion, finance and health.

Delphi Round 2:

In round two, individual subjects were sent a list of the 119 items generated by all of the 57 respondents to round one. The items were grouped into the 10 groups and subjects were asked to score each item on a five point Likert-type scale. Subjects were asked their sex, marital status and number of children in this round. Two analyses were undertaken on the return questionnaires from round two - a hierarchical clustering correlation analysis, and an ordinal ranking procedure. The Johnson Algorithm for hierarchical clustering showed an interitem correlation for all 119 items of .34; a selected 50 of these items gave correlations of between .56 and .75 indicating that these latter items comprised themes closely related to each other. To rank the items, after return of the round two questionnaires, each item was given an "aggregate score" (total Likert score). Subsequently a "mean aggregate score" was calculated for each group of items by adding all of the item scores within a group and dividing by the number of items within a group. This enabled a rank order to be assigned to each group, and the relative importance of each group to be calculated (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 in here

It can be seen that there is little difference in emphasis between the 10 separate themes perceived as important for family cohesion. (Range of percent contribution by groups - 8.3% to 11.1%). This implied that the subjects perceived cohesiveness within families as consisting of a series of more or less equally important themes.

Delphi Round 3:

The Delphi controller selected the 50 items with the highest aggregate scores, from the total of 119 items originally generated by the respondents. These were sent to the subjects in rank order, with the inclusion of a linear scale beside each item. Subjects were asked to score each item by this quantitative scale. Thus, round three provided feed-back to the subjects on the items perceived as most important by the group as a whole within the individual items ranked in order. The task of round three consisted of (a) validating round two by retesting, and (b) extending the ordinal ranks to a ratio scale. By this method a mean score (on a scale of 0-100) was calculated for each item together with modal scores and standard deviations. The items were then ranked using the mean values. The results are shown in Appendix 1.

The rank order for the top fifty items from round two and round three were compared using a Spearman Rank Order Correlation. The ordinal ranking for rounds two and three were highly correlated (r = 0.77) indicating a consistency in response. This also indicates that a two round Delphi would be sufficient to generate a valid rank order in this type of study in the future.

Table 2 shows the relative weighting for the items submitted as "factors leading to families splitting up".

Table 2 in here

DISCUSSION

The results of this study show that the Delphi method is able to be used to systematize a diverse set of data based on the perceptions of a group of respondents. While the results do not suggest priorities for action for those who deal with families, they do help to generate a consensus view of family cohesion by a group of university teachers working in the human care professions.

Boyenga (1978) has noted a close relationship between stress at work and stress in the family system of university staff. In his study, work was cited as a factor which could lead to families splitting up but was not perceived as a factor enhancing family cohesion. Presumably, some individuals immerse themselves in their career because of dissatisfaction with their family; however, work was not perceived in my study as a unifying factor.

Some of the items mentioned in this study appear as factors leading to cohesion or equally as factors leading to families splitting up, e.g. the presence of a handicapped child. In practice some parents report that the presence of a handicapped child can weld some families while in others it is reported to accelerate family breakdown. The dilemma for measurement of this phenomena lies in some life events having different meanings for different individuals.

Many of the items with high scores in this study involved traits which one would, in an ideal world, expect to find in any mature adults, whether or not they were living with a partner, e.g. mutual trust, effective communication, willingness to listen, warmth and caring, flexibility, tolerance, give and take. Those items which were (a) concerned with the way in which the family system works or (b) which comprised external influences acting on the couple were seen to be relatively less important than those involving personal qualities themselves. The socio-economic status of the group canvassed might influence perception of factors such as the importance of sexual behaviour and finance which are known to vary with socio-economic status (Kinsey et al., 1948).

Religion was considered of least importance of the 10 groups derived from the complete set of 119 items. None of the items concerned with religion were included in the top 50 items and thus did not enter the third round. In a study of contributing factors to life satisfaction among the male university faculty, Soper (1980) reports that respondents showed greater disagreement on the importance of religious beliefs than for any other variable.

The item ranked highest in both scoring rounds was "mutual trust"; this item also had the lowest standard deviation (8.9) of any item.

This study was undertaken as part of a first analysis to develop a Delphi-generated Family Cohesion Scale. It is likely but not inevitable that groups other than [illegible] homogeneous Faculty population will differ in their expressed attitudes to individual items. The need to include a study of lower socio-economic status groups is also evident if global generalizations can be drawn.

Within the communities of academics validation of the results reported in this study could be undertaken by using these results as a first round in a new Dalphi, with divorced or separated subjects.

APPENDIX 1.

Rank	Mean Score	S.D.	Abridged items
1.	90.96	8.9	Mutual trust
2.	88.46	12.11	Sensitive caring relationships within family
3.	85.38	11.62	Effective communication
4.	85.19	12.6	Love and respect of children to parents and parents to children
5.	84.90	16.49	Friendship between husband and wife
6.	84.61	12.67	Flexibility and tolerance
7.	84.61	14.24	Valuing the other
8.	83.46	20.97	Mutual respect
9.	83.46	12.03	Emotional security
10.	83.08	14.5	Realistic expectation of marriage
11.	83.17	14.14	Loyalty to spouse by both partners
12.	82.79	18.29	Love
13.	82.79	13.34	Agreement on child rearing
14.	82.02	16.28	Parental example set for children
15.	81.92	17.44	Each family member valued and unique
16.	81.35	14.86	Parental emotional maturity
17.	80.00	16.12	Absence of goal setting for partner
18.	79.23	18.43	Desire to preserve the family unit
19.	79.81	14.78	Ability to discuss cause of arguments
20.	79.52	16.22	Ability to change
21.	79.33	15.62	Supporting children in achievements
22.	78.94	17.16	Individuals to have personal space/time
23.	78.85	15.49	Shared interests, relaxation and recreation
24.	78.36	14.54	Interest in teenage children's interests

Rank	Mean Score	S.D.	Abridged items
25.	78.17	13.83	Openness and frankness between all family members
26.	78.17	14.65	Guidelines for children to have freedom
27.	78.08	19.86	Positive and constructive attitudes
28.	77.79	16.87	Balance between family and individual
29.	77.59	16.43	Parents need to spend time with children
30.	77.50	15.64	Involvement of father with family
31.	77.11	16.52	Sharing responsibility for decisions
32.	76.35	17.93	Confident adults who know themselves
33.	76.35	13.45	Co-operation and consensus decision making
34.	76.15	21.61	"Sustaining the other"
35.	76.06	15.22	Good mental health
36.	75.86	18.20	Shared maintenance
37.	75.77	17.69	Parental harmony and leadership
38.	75.58	17.51	Parents able to spend time exclusively with each other
39.	75.29	14.43	Common acceptance of family goals and priorities
40.	74.90	17.67	Ability to be angry yet not lose love and respect
41.	74.17	14.63	Freedom to welcome friends home
42.	74.61	18.68	Active loving sex life
43.	74.42	18.27	Inter-dependence of both partners
44.	73.36	22.81	Every member is a human being in own right
45.	72.98	20.18	Fostering of independence in children
46.	72.60	14.9	Group activities when children are younger
47.	72.60	17.53	Tolerance regarding possessions, displays of emotion, personality quirks

Rank	Mean Score	S.D.	Abridged items
48.	71.15	15.36	Problem solving and concern for others problems
49.	70.29	21.88	Employment of bread winner
50.	69.42	21.55	Maturity of parents at time of birth of first child.

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TABLE 1. RANK ORDER OF GROUPS OF COMMON THEMES DERIVED FOR 119 ITEMS GENERATED FROM A DELPHI INVESTIGATION OF FAMILY COHESION.

Rank	Group	Mean Aggregate Score	Percent Contribution
1	Interpersonal feelings and behaviour	222	11.1
2	Health (mental and physical)	218	10.9
3	Communication, decision making and problem solving	215	10.8
4	Personal traits	212	10.6
5	Finance	206	10.3
6	Children and child rearing	201	10.1
7	Values	191	9.6
8	Family as a system	188	9.4
9	Influences acting on the couple	179	8.9
10	Religion	167	8.3

TABLE 2. SHOWS THE "FACTORS LEADING TO FAMILIES SPLITTING UP" GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS TO A DELPHI INVESTIGATION.

	Group	Total No of items	Number of different items
1	Personal traits	85	35
2	Interpersonal feelings and behaviour	68	28
3	Influences acting on the couple	55	24
4	Children and child rearing	38	17
5	Family as a system	35	21
6	Communication, decision making and problem solving	26	10
7	Values	12	5
8	Finance	25	3
9	Health	10	3
10	Religion	3	3
		357	149

Marital breakdown: Reactions to separation and post separation experiences of adults

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INTRODUCTION

A recent analysis of Australian divorce rates estimates that, if 1982 trends continue into the future, 40 per cent of all marriages in this country will end in divorce (McDonald, 1983). This is not very much lower than the comparable rate for the U.S. of 47 per cent (based on 1975 data), and above the rates for other English speaking western countries such as England and Wales (38%, based on 1980-81) and New Zealand (27%, 1980). Clearly then, with such substantial proportions of Australian marriages breaking down, large segments of the population will be likely to be affected, whether directly or indirectly.

Yet so far in Australia we have very little knowledge of what is involved in marital breakdown - the dynamics of the process, or the consequences. While the work of clinicians such as marriage counsellors has amassed a wealth of case studies, the broader view which sociological research can provide has so far been lacking. The one exception was Burns' study of Sydney adults (1980), which however was carried out in 1975 before the Family Law Act came into force, and focussed on the dynamics of the breakdown rather than on post separation experiences. Moreover, while a fair amount of research has been done overseas, particularly in the U.S. and the U.K., we cannot assume that the findings of these studies would hold true in Australia, due to differences in social structure, values and traditions, and in legal systems.

For these reasons it was decided that the Institute of Family Studies' first study of marital breakdown should be an explorative one, and take as wide and openminded an approach as possible. For example, while previous studies have, not unnaturally, tended to focus on the emotional trauma involved (eg. Weiss, 1975; Kressel, 1980), our aim was to examine positive as well as negative reactions, experiences in the practical and social areas of life as well as purely personal and psychological concerns. We also decided to encompass a much wider time period than is usual, starting from childhood and family background, through the decisions to marry and the marriage itself, to the separation and after, up until the present. Methodologically, this meant a decision for the interview rather than questionnaire as the mode of obtaining data, due to the former's flexibility and ability to accomodate the unanticipated, and for open-ended rather than fixed - choice questions wherever possible, for similar reasons. Our sample methods aimed at obtaining a broader cross section of the community than is possible with the use of volunteer or clinical samples, which are based on self selection on the part of respondents.

This paper deals with some of the experiences of our sample of men and women at and after the time of separation. Because of the study's exploratory nature, we did not set out to test hypotheses in the usual way. However a basic expectation guiding the research design in this area was one derived from previous studies: that separation would affect the majority of the people involved, and that these effects would be mostly negative, often severe and longlasting.

METHODS

The sample consisted of 295 men and women who were divorced in 1979. A computer program was used to make a random selection from the file numbers for that year at the Melbourne (Vic.,) Parramatta (NSW) and Western Australian Family Courts. Letters from the Family Court of Australia were sent out to 2134 persons, either the wife or the husband of the marriage (but not both). Of these people, 330 (15.5%) agreed to be interviewed, and 293 (13.7%) refused. A further 374 (17.5%) had moved house, and 8 (0.4%) had died or were overseas. No feedback at all was received regarding the remaining 1127 (52.8%). Of the 330 who agreed, 295 were finally interviewed, representing 1.8 per cent of the population (ie. of the 16,370 divorces in 1979 through the Melbourne, Parramatta, and Western Australian Family Courts).

The 171 men and 124 women who were interviewed had mostly married in the 1960s or 1970s (median: 1968), and for almost all (90.5%) it was their first marriage. Median duration of marriage (until final separation) was ten years, although the range was from a few months to over 20 or 30 years. Most had finally separated in 1977 or 1978 (90.5%). Two thirds (67.8%) had one or more dependent children at this time (ie. children under 18.)

At the time of the interviews in the second half of 1981, most respondents were aged in their late twenties, thirties, or early forties (median age: 37 years). Most were working in fulltime paid employment (75.2%), typically in white collar or lower level professional occupations (46.1%). Only a minority of the women were fulltime housewives (28.2%). Median weekly income after tax was $250 for men and $150 for women. Sixteen per cent of the sample (40 women and seven men) were receiving some kind of pension or benefit.

About one third (33.5%) had either married again or were living in a de facto relationship. Nearly one half lived with their children (under 18 and 18 plus), while one third (34.6%) had children under 18 who were living elsewhere, usually with their former spouse. Only one in five respondents (21.0%) lived alone.

Data were gathered by means of lengthy structured interviews, lasting two and a half to three hours on average. Areas covered included childhood and adolescence, the marriage and its breakdown, separation and post separation experiences, legal experiences, children and remarriage. This report focusses on the topic of separation and post separation experiences.

At the design stage of the study, it was decided to concentrate on general experiences during the period at and after separation, rather than around the time of the divorce, or the period prior to separation. Although any of these stages may prove stressful, logic suggests that the greatest changes and impact would be likely to be associated with the time at and after separation. Whatever has gone before, it is then that the problems of the marriage and the possibility that it may end must be confronted by the two individuals concerned, and that this is most likely to become public knowledge. In addition, changes, often radical ones, are most likely at this stage. Many people will have to adjust to living alone (or without the company of other adults) for a time - for most an unfamiliar experience. Those with children are faced either with the task of performing two parental roles, or of living apart from their children. Many people will have to move house, leaving familiar surroundings and perhaps friends and acquaintances. While some of these changes may be experienced as minor or positive ones, any change involves some degree of stress, since it requires personal adaptation and the development of new coping skills. The marital breakdown literature supports this assumption that stress is likely to be highest at and after the time of separation (eg. Goode, 1956; Weiss, 1975; Chiriboga and Cutler, 1977). For these reasons, this time period was the main focus in this study.

To find out how people had experienced this time, we asked a number of different questions. Key questions were five wholly or partly open ended ones:

- How did you feel about it? (the separation)
- How did you cope with day to day tasks immediately after the separation (up to three months after?) Any particular problems?
- And how about after that? Any particular problems?
- How did you cope emotionally - in yourself - immediately after the separation (up to three months after?) Any particular problems?
- And how about after that? Any particular problems?

We also asked people whether they had experienced any new health problems, how their spouse had behaved, and how they had managed financially after separating. Later in the interview we asked several general questions, including what they had found most difficult to learn after separating, whether and when they had adjusted to the separation, ie. come to terms with it, and whether they thought any good results had come from the fact that their marriage broke down.

It should be remembered that all of our respondents were looking back over at least three years to the time they separated, in some cases even longer, so that memories might well have been distorted by time. We cannot know how accurately respondents were able to recall what they experienced or precisely when various events occurred. Thus while the assistance of the Family Court enabled us to obtain a more representative sample than we believe would have otherwise been the case, the retrospective nature of the data was a corresponding disadvantage, and one which needs to be borne in mind in regard to our findings.

FINDINGS

The decision to separate. Almost all our respondents (88.7%) said they had felt that their marriage was going wrong before the separation, and over three quarters (78.6%) said there had been recurring areas of conflict with their spouse. However, although about two thirds (64.8%) said they had thought about separating before the actual event, the remaining third said they had not. Moreover it was not clear from the replies of those who had contemplated separating whether this had been seen as a real possibility or as something which was very unlikely to actually occur.

In regard to the actual separation, 39.3 per cent of our sample were reconciled after the initial separation, and thus separated several times. We thus distinguish between the first separation (which was the final one for 60.7% of the sample), and the final one for those who had had one or more reconciliations and later separations. In regard to the first separation, the decision to separate was reportedly made in most cases by the spouse (48.1%) in about one third of cases by the respondent (37.6%) and in 14.2 per cent of cases by mutual agreement. With the final separation of the 39.3 per cent who tried again, the balance was different: the decision was made by the respondent in 45.7 per cent of cases, by the spouse in 37.9 per cent and by mutual agreement in 16.4 per cent. Overall of the total sample, the final decision was made by respondents in 36.7 per cent, by spouses in 45.9 per cent, and by agreement in 17.3 per cent of cases.

Women were significantly more likely than men to report that they were the ones who made the decision (54.0% vs. 25.7% in regard to the first separation, $p<.0001$; 60.4% vs. 33.3% in regard to the final separation where there were several, $p<.01$). These proportions accord with Australian Bureau of Statistics figures for parties who filed for divorce in 1978: the percentage of women who filed was 56.4 per cent of the total in Melbourne, 67.8 in Parramatta, and 65.5 in Western Australia. This does not necessarily mean a greater desire to end the marriage or a lesser commitment on the part of those who decide or those who file; it may be, as some researchers have noted, that an apparently passive party may in fact covertly wish the marriage to end, and act so as to force the other to take action, whether this be deciding to separate or deciding to file for divorce (eg. Rapoport, 1981). Also, because of their economic situation, women are more likely to be able to obtain legal aid, and this may also be a factor in regard to filing. However, results from our study also indicated that women are either more sensitive to the state of the marital relationship, or more demanding in regard to it, since they were significantly more likely than men to feel the marriage was going wrong within the first two years (46.3% vs. 28.4%, $p<.01$), and also to think about separating at that early stage (38.5% vs. 13.5%, $p<.0001$).

In the presentation of results which follow, 'separation' means the final separation in all cases except for the emotional reaction question, which was for the first. It should be borne in mind however, that most respondents only separated once, and that in any case they may not have distinguished between a first and later separations where there were more than one.

Changes. As noted above, the post separation period is likely to be the one of highest stress for individuals, partly because of the often radical changes which occur in their lives at that time. The following are some of the changes which our respondents experienced.

Two thirds were living with no other adults immediately afterwards, some completely alone (35.7%), some with their children, but no other adults (32.7%). The majority of the sample had never lived alone before (70.9%). Financial strain involved many in changes of source of income or occupation: over half the women initially went on some kind of pension or benefit (54.8%), and over one third started paid employment, or changed from parttime to fulltime work (35.5%). One in five men took on extra work or started work (19.3%). At the time of the interview in 1981, 29.1 per cent of the sample said their standard of living had dropped. In regard to relations with others, again over the whole time period since separation, over half the sample (53.7%) reported that their friends now were mostly different from those they had when they were married, and only 6.5 per cent said their sexual life had remained the same. With the exception of living apart from their children, it was more often women who seemed to experience these kinds of changes, and while the changes were in many instances positive ones, they nonetheless are likely to have had some stressful impact on the individuals concerned, as noted above.

Negative emotional impact. Our results clearly indicated that, for the majority of our respondents, the actual event of separation was an emotionally negative experience. Four out of five (79.1%) described various kinds of negative emotional reactions to the event (see Table 1). Most frequent were general reactions of disturbance and distress. The word 'upset' was the one most frequently used by respondents, and one that was used for either or both these general reactions. In addition, some respondents used images of destruction in their descriptions of how they felt - such as 'broken up', 'shattered', 'devastated', or 'an emotional/mental wreck'. A few others seemed to suggest feelings of disorientation, saying they felt 'lost'. Many said they had experienced sadness, depression, despair, and pain. Altogether just over half the sample (50.4%) reported emotions of these two general kinds, ie. disturbance and distress.

INSERT TABLE 1 in here

Other, more specific, negative reactions included:

- anxiety and ambivalence (15.8%); for example, anxiety about how they would cope financially or as the sole parent, or fear of a spouse's violence; non-specific anxiety or fear; feelings of confusion, doubt, guilt, or mood swings;

- surprise, disbelief, and shock (12.3%); these feelings were mostly (but not only) expressed by those who had not anticipated the separation.

- anger, bitterness, hostility, frustration (8.9%); these feelings were usually directed towards the spouse, but in some cases were directed towards the self, or the situation;

- loss and loneliness (6.8%): people in this group remembered missing their spouses and particularly their children, feeling lonely and missing adult company;

- other negative emotional reactions (3.1%) included feelings of being a failure, feeling worthless.

In responses to another two questions as to whether they had had any problems coping emotionally or with daily tasks at first, (ie. in the first three months after separation). (answers to these two questions overlapped to such a degree that they were coded together), the overwhelming majority of the sample (94.4%) reported encountering some kind of problem, and of this group about three quarters (74.8%) said they experienced negative emotional reactions similar to those just described, as well as physical health problems and excessive drinking and specifically mental problems such as not being able to think clearly (see Table 2).

INSERT TABLE 2 in here

Thus our first major finding is that the predominant experience for most of our respondents at the time of separation and in the succeeding three months was of negative emotional reaction. Moreover, although we have classed these kinds of feelings into categories, the experiences of our respondents were often less 'tidy' and thus probably harder to endure: many experienced various kinds of emotional reactions at once or in succession, sometimes conflicting with each other. For example, feelings of anger were often accompanied by personal hurt, feelings of numbness might alternate with those of grief.

Other kinds of problems. As well as the negative emotional feelings just described, a wide range of other problems were experienced by significant proportions of respondents in such areas as health, living and coping alone, relationships with their spouse and with their children, and in regard to their financial situation. Although only small percentages of respondents volunteered these problems in answer to general questions such as whether they had had any problems coping (See Table 2), specific questions elicited proportions that were much larger. For example, 37.1 per cent mentioned new physical health problems (or resurgence of old ones) following separation, in answer to a specific question; common problems were nervous stress and strain, and associated symptoms such as loss of appetite and weight loss, gastric problems, insomnia, headaches, skin rashes, and feelings of being generally rundown.

In answer to other specific questions, 36.9 per cent reported harrassment or hostile behaviour from their spouse towards them, including a few cases of physical violence, and of irresponsibility towards the children; nearly half (49.0%) those with dependent children (98/200) felt their own parenting had been affected before the separation, and a similar proportion said some of their children developed problems afterwards (47.3%), for example at school, or with health. One third (33.1%) of respondents said they had had serious financial difficulties in the first three months after separating, and one half (49.1%) said they did not understand their legal situation at the time they separated.

As can be seen from the figures in Table 2, these responses to direct questions often indicate proportions experiencing a particular problem which are twice or three times greater than the proportions who volunteered them in answer to general questions. This needs to be borne in mind when looking at the other areas in which respondents reported problems on which no specific question was asked: for example social problems such as shame, feeling ostracised, and feelings of awkwardness on both sides (10.7%); problems associated with coping alone (11.6%); problems at work (7.0%); and grappling with unfamiliar domestic tasks (7.9%).

Responses to another general question later in the interview - asking what they had found most difficult to learn after separation - produced a similar range of types of problem (See Table 3). Responses here tended to focus on problems associated with being alone: for some these were loneliness or simply being on their own; for others, the challenges involved assuming an unaccustomed weight of work and responsibility, such as that involved in being the sole parent, perhaps assuming the breadwinning role alongside that of primary caregiver for the family.

INSERT TABLE 3 in here

Thus our second finding concerns the very wide range of non-emotional problems experienced by our respondents - problems which may have been in part indirectly caused or exacerbated by the emotional experience of the loss of the partner, but which seem more directly linked with changes in modes of living, in the taking on of new and unfamiliar roles, in the lack of particular skills and knowledge, and with the changes in personal and social identity associated with this, together with general uncertainties. It seemed that almost any area of life could be affected.

Prevalence of negative feelings and problems. The frequency with which about one third of our sample seemed to experience any particular problem (responses to specific questions) led us to wonder whether there was a small 'hard core' who experienced a concentration of such problems, whose lives were affected in many ways, perhaps because of a particularly traumatic separation, because they were seriously lacking in resources of various kinds, or because they were in some way especially vulnerable to stress. On the other hand, it could be that the experience of problems was very diffused, very spread out over many respondents, with most experiencing a few problems only.

Our findings tended to contradict the notion of the small 'multi-problem' group, and suggest rather that many people were affected, but usually only in a few areas. Firstly, as has been outlined above, only one respondent in five (20.1%) did not experience some kind of negative emotional reaction to the event of separation (Table 1). Secondly, in response to the questions about problems coping emotionally or with day to day living in the first three months after separation, only one respondent in six (15.6%) did not mention some kind of problem or other. Thirdly, when asked what had been the most difficult thing to learn after separation, only 10.5 per cent said there had been nothing difficult (see Table 3). While it is true that the wording of those and some other questions may have tended to elicit more problems in responses than more neutral wording would have, the proportions of people affected were nonetheless very high, from 80 to 90%.

Against this however, were respondents' own evaluations of how well they coped: almost two thirds (64.9%) said they felt they had coped well or fairly well with day to day living, and nearly a half (47.8%) said they had coped well or fairly well emotionally. Could it be then that while the majority of people experienced problems, there was a small group who experienced them more severely, or for a longer time, being unable to resolve them for various reasons? In order to test this hypothesis, we selected all individuals who had reported an intensely negative experience or a long term problem, to see to what extent they overlapped, or by contrast were spread throughout the sample. Our criteria were the following:

- those who said they had coped 'very badly' in the first three months, whether with tasks, or emotionally (8.5%; 16.[illegible]%);

- those who said they had coped 'very badly' after that period (4.1%; 5.8%);

- those who reported that post separation health problems persisted at the time of the interview (17.1%)

- those who were currently seeing a mental health professional such as a psychiatrist or psychologist (8.2%);

- those who said they had taken three or more years to adjust (12.1%) or who said they had not yet fully adjusted to the separation (16.0%)

If it was mainly the same individuals experiencing these problems, then together they might be expected to account for, say, a third of the sample. However, if negative experiences were more widely diffused throughout the sample we would expect less overlap, and perhaps a total proportion of double that size, ie. two thirds. In fact, the resulting total of 153 individuals who fell into at least one of the above categories comprised nearly half the sample, 48.5 per cent. While this result does not clearly indicate either a 'hard core' or a very wide diffusion of particularly negative experiences, it does simply show that almost half our sample experienced some kind of intense or longterm negative effect of the marriage breakdown, which could be termed a fairly wide diffusion of such experiences.

Positive results. Despite the predominance and prevalance of various kinds of negative experiences both at the time of the separation and in the following three months, many positive experiences also emerged from respondents' reports. For example, nearly a quarter said they had had positive feelings at the time (22.9%), although these were sometimes accompanied by negative ones. Of the positive emotional reactions, relief was by far the most common (15.4%), suggesting that for many people, separation was a solution to problems, rather than a situation which created problems (see table 1). People who said they had felt relieved indicated that this was due to the ending of a period of uncertainty or conflict, sometimes of many years' standing. Although the median duration of the marriages was 10 years, the majority of respondents (64.8%) had thought about separating before this, and a quarter (25%) had contemplated it within the first four years of the marriage. As Burns (1980) found in her 1975 study of the effects of marital breakdown, we also found that many people had stayed together for years after the marriage had ceased to be a loving or satisfying relationship, often in the hope that it would improve, or for the sake of the children. Positive reactions to separation are understandable in such cases, especially when linked with infidelity, drinking, or other problematic behaviour on the spouse's side, as was sometimes the case.

TABLE 4 in here

Another positive aspect of our findings was that despite the prevalence of experience of a wide range of problems in the initial three months, the majority (64.9%) of our respondents felt they had coped well or fairly well with their daily tasks, and almost half (47.8%) said they had coped well or fairly well emotionally in this period (see Table 4). Moreover, when asked about the period of time after that, the overwhelming majority gave a good report, both in regard to tasks (82.6%) and emotions (73.0%) (See Table 5).

INSERT TABLE 5 in here

(As we noted earlier, however, the time periods may not have been remembered accurately by respondents).

In regard to specific problems, the passage of time also brought improvements, according to respondents' reports. For example, although one third had said they experienced serious financial difficulties in the first three months, only 17.1 per cent made this kind of reply concerning the period after that; and while at the time of the interview, 29.1 per cent felt their standard of living had declined since their marriage, most said it was better (45.5%) or the same (25.3%).

Relations with former spouses and the situation with children also seemed to have improved over the years since separation. Although only half the sample were still in contact with their former spouses (51.9%), most of these said they now got on well or fairly well (86.9%), in contrast to the initial three months after separation when over one third had reported hostile or irresponsible behaviour. In regard to their children - whose welfare was frequently a worry for parents at the time of separation, and who in many cases developed problems afterwards - the majority of parents felt at least some good things had resulted from the breakdown for the children (56.7%), although around one third felt there had been no good outcome for them (38.9%).

Improvements over the years since separation were also apparent in the realm of personal relationships. Most people told us they now had more close friends than when they were married (46.2%) or about the same number (38.4%), and even higher proportions judged their friendship situation now to be better (62.8%) or about the same (31.9%) compared to that time. A question about sexual life at the time of the interview also revealed some positive trends with 50.7 per cent saying it was now better, compared to 42.9 per cent who said it was different, non existent, or worse.

Further positive outcomes were indicated by the answers to several very general questions, again not focussing on any particular time period. Thus while nearly two thirds of respondents said that overall they felt it had been hard to adjust to or come to terms with the separation (48.6%) or hard in some ways (16.7%), most (84.0%) said they felt they had now fully adjusted, and most said this had taken them less than a year (48.8%) or between one and two years (23.0%).

Finally, we asked them if they felt that any good results had come from the fact that their marriage broke down. The majority (79.9%) said they thought there had been at least some positive outcomes. Among the good results cited were: increased personal autonomy and sense of identity (24.6%); greater happiness and peace, feeling more settled (22.5%); an improvement over the marital situation (17.4%); increased wisdom, maturity and self knowledge (16.5%); being with a new partner (16.1%); and increased wellbeing of children, and/or better relationship with them (14.4%) (See table 6)

INSERT TABLE 6 in here

Thus our fourth general finding in the study was that, while not minimising the extent to which respondents experienced negative emotional reactions and problems of various kinds in the time at and after separation, some felt positive about the separation, most said they coped reasonably well with the various problems they faced, and from the vantage point of three or more years after the separation and two or more years after the divorce, most felt that various aspects of their lives had changed for the better.

DISCUSSION

What are some possible explanations of these findings of negative experiences? One concept which is often used to explain the widespread prevalance of negative emotional reactions to marital separation is that of attachment theory. According to this theory, a strong emotional tie or bonding between spouses may persist after separation, even in cases where love and respect have long been absent. Weiss discovered widespread evidence of continued attachment in his survey of separated adults (1975). His respondents continued to think about their absent partners and to feel the need to see them for many months after separating, sometimes for years. Sexual relations often continued, sometimes even after the divorce. Yet in many of these cases, the respondent was the one who had initiated the separation, and often felt a strong desire to end all relations with their spouse, alongside the other contradictory desire to rejoin him or her.

This theory can explain some factors which are hard to explain otherwise. For example, it seems natural for spouses who did not take part in the decision to separate to feel rejected and therefore angry. Yet as Weiss found, anger was an almost universal emotion among his respondents, regardless of the part they had taken in the decision. Our own results also indicated that anger was not confined to those who had had the decision to separate imposed on them. While 10.0 per cent of this group reported an initial emotional response to the separation of this kind, 7.3 per cent of those who had made the decision and 9.5 per cent of those who reported coming to an agreement also felt feelings of anger and hostility towards their spouse. It seems more useful then, continuing with this example, to see anger arising not only from natural feelings of defence against injury to the ego, but also as a form of protest against the breaking of a strong and continuing tie, also expressed in active attempts to reunite with the person to whom one is still attached. This may explain the fairly common reports in our study of 'harrassment' by a spouse - from the other side, these may be seen as energetic efforts towards rejoining the person from whom one has become separated

Similarly, this theory gives a wider perspective on the other common components of what is termed 'separation distress' - denial, depression, grief, anxiety. These are also common reactions to other kinds of separation when attachment is likely to be involved - for example children separated from a parent, or people whose marriages are ended by the death of a spouse. In the case of our own findings, we need some kind of explanation for the fact that while those who made the decision to separate were somewhat less likely to have an emotionally negative reaction to the separation than those who had the decision imposed on them, the majority still did experience various kinds of negative reactions (70.0% vs. 88.6%). Put another way, while 48.1 per cent of respondents reported having no part in the decision to separate (first time), almost twice this proportion (79.1%) reported negative emotional responses to the separation.

Empirical evidence linking attachment and emotional distress after separation has been found by Kitson, in her study in Cleveland, Ohio (1982). The results indicated a strong link between degree of attachment and both level of subjective distress, and whether respondents' concerns were primarily personal, or oriented to other issues or problems such as changes in living arrangements and job. As one might expect, where attachment to the spouse was still strong, personal and particularly emotional problems were much more likely.

Since our study did not set out to investigate attachment, we can only speculate from our findings that it may have played a part in the wide prevalence of negative emotional reactions our respondents reported.

But is this theory sufficient explanation of the kinds of feelings reported by many of our respondents? Does it sufficiently explain their frequent reports of problems which were not emotional? We speculate that our results point to the need for a somewhat broader theory to explain certain of our findings.

Firstly, while much of our evidence on initial reactions to the event of separation are consistent with those attachment theory would predict - feelings of loss, grief, depression, denial, anxiety and anger - there were many responses which did not fit into this scheme. Several respondents suggested in their choice of words and phrases that their whole subjective world had been destroyed. 'Shattered', 'devastated', 'broken up', 'everything falling apart', were terms suggesting destruction of themselves and their world; some said they felt 'lost', suggesting a feeling of a lack of belonging; others said things like 'the bottom fell out of my world', or 'I thought my world had ended'. Destruction, fragmentation, disorientation were the themes in these kinds of remarks. Distress was often linked with them, particularly in the use of the word 'upset' with its double meaning of disturbance and distress.

Secondly, as we have seen, respondents encountered a wide range of problems beyond the purely personal and emotional, problems relating to their changed circumstances, changed roles, changed social status.

We suggest therefore that it was not only the separation from the attachment figure of the spouse which caused such widespread negative emotions and problems, but the separation from a whole subjective world centered around the spouse, the marriage and the family. This world, some theorists have maintained (eg. Berger and Kellner, 1964) is a kind of cognitive and emotional anchor, an important source of a strong and stable sense of personal and social identity. It may be seen as an ordered system of meanings, giving coherence, continuity and purpose to one's existence both in and outside the home. (For many people work may also function in this kind of way, providing a sense of purpose and of identity). Marital separation thus may often destroy more than the marriage alone. Hart suggests that personal anomie is a major consequence, a situation in which one's taken for granted meanings, contexts, routines are suddenly absent, leaving the individual in a world which is unfamiliar, in a state therefore of personal disorganisation:

> "The world is intact but the individual is lost ... (his/her) personalised normative framework has broken down ... it amounts to a breakdown of the expectations on which life is built".
> (1976:193-5)

Hancock also proposes the use of anomie as an explanatory framework, noting that marital breakdown may involve destruction of a person's sense of meaning and belonging, and thus cause

> "a shift as jarring as a movement along a geological fault ... foundations are skewed, junctures thrown out of whack; balance becomes precarious" (1980:19).

It may be then, that this theory helps to explain why so many respondents experienced other kinds of problems. While many of these problems were seemingly wholly practical and external in nature, dealing with them may have been more difficult for any respondents whose views of themselves and their world was centered around their marriage and their family, and who thus found their new world frighteningly lacking in order or sense.

TABLE 1: FEELINGS OF MEN AND WOMEN AT THE TIME OF FIRST SEPARATION[a]

	MEN %	WOMEN %	TOTAL %
Negative			
Moderate upset, distress	34.1	25.4	30.5
Severe upset, distress	19.4	20.5	19.9
Anxiety, ambivalence, confusion	10.0	23.8	15.8
Surprise, disbelief, shock	12.4	12.3	12.3
Anger, hostility	10.0	7.4	8.9
Loss, loneliness	10.6	1.6	6.8
Other negative, incl. loss of self esteem	4.1	1.6	3.1
TOTAL NEGATIVE[b]	81.8	75.4	79.1
Neutral			
Indifferent, resigned, accepting	7.6	9.0	8.2
Positive			
Relief	9.4	23.8	15.4
Other positive	8.8	8.2	8.6
TOTAL POSITIVE[b]	18.2	29.5	22.9
TOTAL RESPONDENTS[a] N	(170)	(122)	(292)

[a] In this and other multiple response questions, total responses exceed 100% and 295 as some respondents gave more than one kind of response.

[b] Subtotals are usually less than the sum of the individual figures above, as respondents who gave more than one negative, neutral, or positive response were only counted once.

TABLE 2: PROBLEMS WITH COPING EMOTIONALLY AND WITH DAILY TASKS IN FIRST THREE MONTHS AFTER SEPARATION, BY SEX[a]

	MEN %	WOMEN %	TOTAL %
Personal			
Moderate upset, distress	28.9	25.0	27.3
Severe upset, distress	12.0	9.0	10.7
Mental upset, moderate and severe	18.3	25.0	21.1
Health problems	14.8	17.0	15.7
Drinking; anger; couldn't accept it; other personal problems	17.6	7.0	13.2
Loss of self esteem, feelings of failure	5.6	14.0	12.0
Anxiety, ambivalence, confusion	9.9	15.0	12.0
Inertia, tiredness, no energy	8.5	8.0	8.3
TOTAL PERSONAL[a]	73.9	76.0	74.8
Life Alone			
Loneliness, missing adult company	11.3	4.0	8.3
Loss (missing spouse, children)	12.7	3.0	8.7
Coping alone, single parenting, problems of children	5.6	20.0	11.6
TOTAL LIFE ALONE[a]	29.6	29.0	29.3
Social Problems	6.3	17.0	10.7
Practical			
Financial	7.7	12.0	9.5
Problems at work	10.6	2.0	7.0
Other practical problems (eg. domestic)	9.2	6.0	7.9
TOTAL PRACTICAL[a]	25.4	18.0	22.3
General and Other (incl. access, spouse, own family, in-laws)	8.5	12.0	9.9
TOTAL RESPONDENTS[a b] N	(142)	(100)	(242)

[a] Multiple response question - see notes to Table 1

[b] 53 respondents who did not mention any problems are exluded

TABLE 3: MOST DIFFICULT THINGS TO LEARN AFTER SEPARATION BY SEX[a]

		MEN %	WOMEN %	TOTAL %
Nothing difficult		9.8	11.4	10.5
Loss and loneliness		30.5	11.4	22.3
Personal: overcoming shame, guilt; general adjustment		25.0	16.3	21.3
Coping/living alone, on one's own		22.0	18.7	20.6
Single parenting, single parenting and working		3.7	23.6	12.2
Becoming independent, responsible, autonomous		1.8	14.6	7.3
Social: meeting, trusting people		12.8	16.8	14.3
Household tasks, repairs		17.0	5.7	12.2
Financial problems		3.7	22.8	11.8
Other		6.7	12.2	9.1
TOTAL RESPONDENTS[a]	N	164	123	287

[a] Multiple response question - see note a to Table 1.

TABLE 4: EVALUATION BY RESPONDENTS OF COPING EMOTIONALLY AND WITH DAILY TASKS IN FIRST THREE MONTHS AFTER SEPARATION, BY SEX

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	
	%	%	%	N
Coping emotionally				
- well	18.0	17.7	17.9	52
- OK, fairly well	25.7	35.5	29.9	87
Total Well/Fairly Well	43.7	53.2	47.8	139
- not too well	24.0	21.0	22.7	66
- badly	12.0	12.9	12.4	36
- very badly	20.4	12.9	17.2	50
Total Not Well/Badly	56.3	46.8	52.2	152
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	291
Coping with daily tasks				
- well	26.0	33.9	29.4	86
- OK, fairly well	34.3	37.1	35.5	104
Total Well/Fairly Well	60.4	71.0	64.8	190
- not too well	17.8	15.3	16.7	49
- badly	11.2	8.1	9.9	29
- very badly	10.7	5.6	8.5	25
Total Not Well/Badly	39.6	29.0	35.2	103
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	293

TABLE 5: EVALUATION BY RESPONDENTS OF COPING EMOTIONALLY AND WITH DAILY TASKS AFTER INITIAL THREE MONTH PERIOD, BY SEX

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	
	%	%	%	N
Coping emotionally				
- well	35.7	38.7	37.0	108
- OK, fairly well	35.7	36.3	36.0	105
Total Well/Fairly Well	71.4	75.0	72.9	213
- not too well	15.5	15.3	15.4	45
- badly	6.0	5.6	5.8	17
- very badly	7.1	4.0	5.8	17
Total Not Well/Badly	28.6	25.0	27.1	79
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	292
Coping with daily tasks				
- well	41.4	46.8	43.7	128
- OK, fairly well	36.7	41.9	38.9	114
Total Well/Fairly Well	78.1	88.7	82.6	242
- not too well	11.2	6.5	9.2	27
- badly	5.3	2.4	4.1	12
- very badly	5.3	2.4	4.1	12
Total Not Well/Badly	21.9	11.3	17.4	51
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	293

TABLE 6: PERCEIVED GOOD RESULTS OF MARRIAGE BREAKING DOWN, BY SEX[a]

	MEN %	WOMEN %	TOTAL %
Increased personal autonomy, independence, freedom; tougher, more competent; firmer sense of personal identity	17.9	31.9	24.6
Happiness, peace; more relaxed, settled; improved mental or physical health	21.1	23.9	22.5
Better than before: marriage ended, not with spouse any longer; less tension, fighting	14.6	20.4	17.4
Increased maturity, wisdom, objectivity, awareness; more realistic, increased self knowledge	14.6	18.6	16.5
New partner	22.8	8.8	16.1
Children happier, healthier; better relations with children	10.6	18.6	14.4
New values, new activities, fresh start, new life	8.9	9.7	9.3
Better relating: more tolerant, flexible, considerate, open, helpful	10.6	7.1	8.9
Increased self confidence, 'better person', like self better	2.4	14.2	8.1
Other: friendships, sex life, general, other	13.0	7.1	10.2
TOTAL[a] N	(123)	(113)	(236)

[a] Multiple response question - see note a to Table 1. 54 respondents who said nothing good had resulted are excluded.

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On being single again: A mutual aid response

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1. THE MUTUAL-AID RESPONSE

There is considerable and persuasive evidence (anecdotal and empirical) that increasing numbers of people, over the past decade, have been experiencing the state of being single again. That is, the now common events of separation and divorce and the continuing occurrence of spouse death are daily recruiting large numbers of individuals into the status of being single. Alvarez asserts,

> "So the divorce figures continue to climb and couples split up on every side, bewilderingly. Not just young people, infected by restlessness and fashionable sensuality, but also the middle-aged and the elderly who, in more settled time would have dealt themselves out of the game." (Alvarez 1982:23)

More specifically,

> "The divorce rate has increased in Australia since 1971 when it was 1 divorce in each 1,000 of the population. The rate peaked at 4.5 in 1976 when the Family Law Act may have enabled people whose marriages had already broken down in earlier years to obtain a divorce. ... the rate of divorce has recently decreased to 2.8 (1981)" (Sargent, 1983:74)

Individual experiences of and reactions to separation and divorce vary greatly and range from the highly positive to the highly negative. Differences have been reported according to a variety of variables (e.g., age, sex, class, occupation etc.) (Ambrose et al 1983). It is not the primary purpose of this paper to explore these aspects of becoming single again. Rather it begins with the assumption that the effects for many will be traumatic, long-lasting and both personally painful and socially disruptive. Our point of departure, in other words, is that the status shift from "married" to "single" for most of those involved, represents a significant change in their life situation which, whether sought or not, has profound implications.

> "When a pattern of relationships is disrupted in any way for which we are not fully prepared, the thread of continuity in the interpretation of life becomes attenuated or altogether lost. The loss may fundamentally threaten the integrity of the structure of meanings on which this continuity rests and cannot be acknowledged without distress." (Harris, 1978:21)

Indeed, "the experience of divorce often contains the major elements of a breavement". (Amrose et al 1983:86)

Moreover the ideology about and to a significant extent the reality of marriage in this society results in it being a primary source of identity, self-esteem and access to membership in a variety of social networks (Morgan 1975) which are crucial to social support. (Abrahams 1972)

A further assumption of this project was that people who have become single again either make little use of, or find unsatisfactory the formal health and welfare agencies at least beyond the "crisis stage" of marriage breakdown. Evidence (Institute of Family Studies 1983; Ambrose et al 1983) is far from clear and tends to suggest that as many as half of those in the study samples did not use or perceived no positive outcomes from formal sources of support.

In consequence this project saw a need for an additional and complementary form of supportive response, captured in the notion of "Self-help Support Groups," whose membership consists of

> " . . . those who share a common condition, situation, heritage system or experience. They are largely self-governing and self-regulating. . . . They generally offer a face to face, or phone to phone fellowship network usually available and accesible without change." (Borman, 1979:14)

It is important to note that there is some disagreement, even confusion, over terminology in this area. Preference is given here to use of the term "mutual aid" rather than "self-help" because it is more in keeping with local usage (C.O.S.H.G. 1982) and because it is seen to be a more appropriate term.

> "Groups with a self-help orientation can more accurately be described as mutual aid groups: they are groups in which people can help one another, not just themselves. In fact one of the primary values of this type of group is its capacity to offer mutual aid." (Coplon & Strull, 1983:259)

Two further reasons, pertinent to this study, underlie the need for careful choice of terminology. Firstly there is contained within the form of local usage the notion that "self-help" connotes activities free of professional interventions. (C.O.S.H.G., 1982) Clearly this project set out to utilize professional actions, at least as a catalyst to the formation of mutual aid groups. (Coplon and Strull, 1983. Smith, 1980). Secondly self-help also tends, in local usage, to signify groups which have in addition to mutual aid activities, goals which encompass political analysis and action. This is most apperent within what has come to be known as the "women's movement."

> "Women's consciousness-raising (C.R.) groups are small

> groups who meet regularly to share their experiences as women and to raise their awareness of women's role in society. . . (they use) mutual aid in a group context to achieve the dual goals of personal and social change." (Home, 1981:7)

The problem for the workers in this project was that there was a direct contradiction between two strongly held values. On the one hand, a belief and a personal practice which emphasise the indivisibility of the personal and the political. On the other hand a value which emphasises the fundamental need for a group, mutual aid or self-help, to be self-directing. Thus a "critical dialogue" was entered into with groups (Freire 1973) but one which was at times restrained by the process of the group and the constraints of study methodology.

2. THE MODEL

2.1 HISTORY

In recent years the self help movement has become visible and vocal, reflecting itself in many diverse groups and organisations, and holding a wide range of goals.

Killilea (1976:2) suggests that self help groups have been spiritual movements and secular religions; as systems of consumer participation; as alternative, care giving systems adjunct to professional helping systems; as intentional communities; as subcultural entities that represent a way of life; as supplementary communities; as expressive-social influence groups; and as organizations of the deviant and stigmatized."

Generally these groups are self-regulated, self supporting and initiated by people who are indigenous to the group. We became involved in groups offering mutual support through a series of experiences which lead us to the view that ongoing self support groups were useful to people sharing a common social or crisis situation, that they may offer a situation rich in potential for growth, whilst being very supportive.

Our involvement with the groups arose out of an initial request that Eva Learner participate in the Women's Access Programmes at several Technical Colleges. She was, in 1979, asked to run single sessions of a morning's duration. They were publicized as sessions on "On Being Single Again". Inevitably they attracted a group of women who, though at different phases of a separation experience, were most usually isolated or lonely, often in the process of sorting out legal problems and, above all, surprised to find so many others with similar experiences and problems. Although these sessions were scheduled as a "one-off", the limits of running a one session group became obvious. The women themselves requested a series of meetings to discuss different aspects of the single again experience. This tended to establish a degree of cohesion among the group members, and some friendships continued after the termination of this series of meetings. No ongoing self support principle was thought of at this stage. It became clear that these women were keen they continue attending the meetings but, since they were formally discontinued, they joined other organizations, such as Parents Without Partners, singles clubs, etc.

The next phase in the development of the On Being Single Again groups essentially followed from the experience of some of the participants in these Women's Access programmes, who subsequently attended neighbourhood houses in their locality and invited Eva Learner to address people in these places. She decided at this point that it would be worth trying to use these occasions to initiate a group for people, single again, who wanted support and might be interested in an ongoing mutual aid group in their neighbourhood. It was directly from these that the specific On Being Single Again groups evolved.

2.2 WORKER CHARACTERISTICS

Lieberman and Borman (1979:24) have identified nine characteristics of the workers or founders involved in establishing self help groups, most of which can be seen in our work.

1. These workers tended to be disenchanted with conventional theories in their field.
2. They tended to modify the usual specifications of a condition or affliction. For example, they often perceived problems in a much broader context than the purely medical model, and attempted, too, to change community attitudes towards these afflictions which were often negative or stigmatic.
3. A third dimension characteristic of these workers was their effort to recognize a

broader range of skills and techniques than was conventionally used in their fields.

4. They were often concerned with a different phase of the condition than that usually managed as the central focus by traditional professionals. For example, self help groups were concerned chiefly with rehabilitation, after care and often with prevention.

5. There is also often a focus on neglected populations, who lack facilities in the conventional agencies and institutions.

6. There is an altered professional role, in most cases it moves from a principal and solo role to a collaborative one.

7. Frequently the groups are formed outside of conventional auspices such as welfare agencies, hospitals, etc.; they are established informally in houses, public meeting places, libraries and any location which might allow small groups to gather.

8. Recruitment to groups is unusual in that it is done by word of mouth or media publicity.

9. Finally, these workers and the groups formed are rarely concerned with fees. Most of the professionals involved in working with self help groups have done so without concern for remuneration for themselves. Most often, they have invested their own funds in addition to their time in the early and continuing efforts.

This study arose out of a need to evaluate a project which had been initiated by requests to establish groups. This work had developed quite rapidly before there was any thought of research and evaluation. After it became clear that the groups were a growing and developing phenomenon, it was decided to establish a formal research method. This was facilitated with a grant from the Myer Foundation in February 1982. Once the research began and the literature surveyed, we found a number of similarities in the development of mutual aid and self help groups, as indeed we have indicated above.

The theoretical stance that the researchers have taken focussed on the societal stresses facing single people rather than the conventional interpersonal conflict. That is not to say we omit discussion of interpersonal matters. These are explored, but always within the context of the broader societal framework.

2.3 PREPARATION AND RECRUITMENT

Groups have been initiated in a variety of ways, but always with the use of the media. This included local and state press and radio or T.V. An "Age" newspaper article describing a group meeting drew well over 300 enquiries, some interstate.

Often people in a locality have heard of the groups, and will make a personal request to have one initiated. We frequently have requests from neighbourhood house, local council and church organizers to initiate a group in a particular locality.

In other situations we have researched a locality that may be disadvantaged in respect of support services and, after consultation with other local agencies and workers, have initiated such a group.

In more recent times and subsequent to the experience of initial groups, there have been examples of initiatives taken by groups and an individual to initiate new groups themselves, without the involvement of a professional workers. These have been quite novel, for example one group in the Dandenongs decided to hold its meetings in different localities in the hills in order to stimulate new groups.

2.4 LOCATION

We find that if one criterion of success is to be measured by the degree of continuity, that informal local premises appear to be the most popular location. Private houses are often used, and also tend to establish some degree of stability and consistency. Moreover, some members will travel long distances within the city suburbs to attend these meetings.

2.5 THE GROUP PROCESS

The method we use incorporates the principles of small group process, used in a rapid and skilful manner, with an emphasis on devolving the power base from the worker to the members. The different phases of group process can be recognized. The preparatory stage involves researching possible locations, publicising the early meetings and discussing the objectives and activities with interested enquirers.

Our process develops over three or four meetings. The first meeting is used to establish identity, objectives of the group, interests of the members and, most important, in establishing the norm of sharing concerns and resolutions between members and worker, the worker often participating in the discussion on as personal a level as other members. On occasions workers themselves share their gratitude for the support they are receiving from the group. The worker spends some time in this meeting exploring societal attitudes and pressures toward the single again person.

In the second and much of the third meeting, issues of social, emotional, economic and legal concerns occupy the time. Dilemmas about child care, facing both custodial and non-custodial parents, are a popular topic for discussion, as are such matters as how and where to begin to make new friends. By this time these members tend to be highly interactive, with the worker taking a minimally directive role. Perhaps an outstanding and frequent response is the surprise people find in recognizing common experiences with others. Following from this is the clear action people begin to take in the group in assisting others to identify situations and consider resolutions.

In the final meeting held with the worker present, skills in organization are identified and shared, and local and wider community resources identified for the use of individuals in the group. By this last meeting there is substantial group cohesion and the members have always started planning future activities and ongoing meetings. In some groups, this will occur by the second meeting. Whilst there is regret that the worker will not return, it is always accepted and groups continue meeting subsequently managed by themselves.

2.6 NATURE OF MEMBERSHIP

The nature of group participants varies by age, marital status and sex. There to be are a larger number of women participants than men, but this can vary from group to group.

We have both custodial and non-custodial parents attending. A large proportion of participants have been separated for more than 5 years.

A very small percentage are widowed, or never married. We have had individuals who are in uncertain marriages and attend to learn about how it feels to be separated. We have had single, never married people who attend because they feel they want support.

The On Being Single Again groups tend to attract people who are disillusioned with experiences in other groups emphasising social activity, and are seeking a genuine friendship network. They also attract a number of women and men of various ages who have had major difficulty in initiating any new contact since separation. We frequently find that these people have not been out without their family and children for two years and more. In one case, a woman in her fifties had not been out independently for ten years.

We suspect that because these groups are not at present institutionalized, nor labelled in any particular way, they feel less threatening.

2.7 THE ROLE OF THE WORKER

In the On Being Single Again groups, the worker takes a role different from that of the usual professional worker.

1. He/She participates in a mutual sharing capacity, often using and exposing personal experience.

2. The emphasis is to rapidly empower and create confidence in the membership by collaboration between members particularly.

3. There is no emphasis on financial gain, and the group arranges its own financial survival.

3. PROJECT DEVELOPMENTS

Until 1982 On Being Single Again (O.B.S.A.) groups existed as "one-off" events which developed through word of mouth advertising. A decision was made, by the project team, early in that year to organize and advertize a public meeting for those interested in the possibility of joing an O.B.S.A. group. More than 150 people attended that evening meeting and through a mixture of large and small group processes agreements were reached to initiate several groups for different purposes, involving different memberships and centred in various locations. Project team members offered to act as resource persons and in the first instance leaders of these groups but with a clear agreement that this power would devolve to the group within a period of 3 to 4 weeks. Four groups began meeting soon after that evening two of which were primarily at the members' decision, social in nature and which required minimal input from project members. The other two following, in general terms, the O.B.A. model outlined above and project members (2 in each case) were actively participants. Our Institutional base provided other resources, such as mailing.

Most people at the public meeting willingly agreed to place their names and addresses on a mailing list in anticipation of future contact from project members who gave a commitment to initiate other groups on a locality basis. In the meantime they received a brief "newsletter" which informed them of ongoing O.B.S.A. groups and information about a broad range of singles activities under several other auspices. Within a few months four other groups were initiated, based in "neighbourhood" or "community houses" and recruiting from both the existing mailing list and further local advertising. Since that time another three groups have been initiated either by (in 2 cases) request or by (in 1 case) the initiative of project members.

4. PROJECT METHODOLOGY

This study began with two broad aims. Firstly, through an action research approach, to establish the need for a mutual aid response to the status change of becoming single again. Secondly, to evaluate the effectiveness of this strategy including, the role of professionals as catalysts and as an ongoing resource.

Moving beyond these general aims to specific questions and especially to the level of operationalizing a particular research design has been inordinately difficult. By their very nature such groups disallow the forms of control usually seen as mandatory by researchers. That is we have virtually no control over recruitment, membership definition of purpose and activities. In fact our own ideology leads us to encourage control of these and other factors to the participants of whom we are a very small minority.

Nevertheless, attempts have been made with mixed success to gather data through several means. All participants have been sent questionnaires at the earliest possible time after their entry into a group and are being sent follow-up questionnaires at a time, 6 months, after their joining a group. In addition, groups have been asked to keep "diaries" which detail aspects of group life (e.g. attendance, activities, content). Project members have engaged in routine de-briefings after each meeting they have attended and maintain a variety of formal and informal contacts with ongoing groups. A series of interviews of selected individuals and groups will be employed in order to add specific depth to our own data collection.

Most of all our design requires, at all stages of the project, that we be engaged in building an even more comprehensive understanding of how people, in this case who happen to be single again, understand their position in the world, discover their needs and attempt to take action to bring about desired changes.

> "What matters is not only the fact that people come to have a particular self-understanding, and that this new self-understanding provides the basis for altering social arrangements, but also the manner in which they come to adopt this new "guiding idea." In fact national discourse must be the cause of the oppressed's change in basic self-conception." (Fay, 1977:224)

5. RESULTS

At this stage we cannot report our results. Data is still being collected and analysis is far from complete. What we can do is give an abreviated account of one group as a means of illustrating several issues which have arisen around the two central questions, (1) what is the condition of being single again and, (2) what does a mutual aid group provide for the participants.

5.1 BEGINNINGS

The group was one of those formed some months (3) after the public meeting. Analysis of the mailing list revealed that most people could be clustered according to the geographic location of their home addresses. One such cluster, of 20 people, were contacted and advised that a meeting would be held in a community house at a specific time (evening) on a specific date. They were encouraged to invite others and to contact us if unable to attend. The meeting was also advertised locally.

5.2 MEMBERSHIP

24 people (20 female, 4 male) attended the first meeting. Several were "new recruits". All but 2 were separated or divorced, the others being widowed. Almost all were employed, mainly in white collar occupations. Ages ranged from 25 to 72 years with an approximate median of 35 years. About half had children. Length of time since becoming single ranged from less than one year to more than 10 years with the majority in the 3 to 5 year range.

5.3 CONTENT OF FIRST MEETING

The formal part of the meeting began with the project member introducing himself, briefly describing the OBSA model and specific purpose of this meeting and the next two meetings. He then gave an account (personal and professional) of his interest in OBSA and ventured some hypotheses about that status. He then suggested that everybody introduce themselves to the group in whatever manner seemed appropriate to them. This gradually opened out into a general discussion which became increasingly free-flowing. After about an hour it was agreed to break up into 3 small groups to discuss what we wanted from the group. After about another 45 minutes everybody drifted back into the main room, had a cup of tea or coffee, continued chatting in small informal groups for about 15 minutes and then reconvened as one large group. It was then agreed, after reporting back and discussion to meet again the following week and to focus on specific proposals for future activities. The meeting finished after 3 hours.

Participants spoke about an enormous and diverse range of experiences, feelings and ideas. All were unique but there were many similarities. Some themes included: trauma over marriage breakdown, at the time and for years after; loss, grief and depression; anger, resentment and despair; loneliness; being a social pariah; feeling odd, different as if there was "something wrong with me even though I know there's not"; of wanting to meet people, interesting people; of not wanting to get caught up in social or sexual games experienced in some other groups; of needing support with tasks - instrumental and expressive; of wanting to once again experience giving support to someone else.

5.4 GROUP PROCESS

The group at first was quiet, even reserved and seemingly waiting for leads from the project member. When, early on, this reserve began to crumble the group "took off". Banal though it may sound the level of energy in the room became very high, intense but extremely good humoured. Many were abuzz with excitement. Power still remained with the temporary leader but he was increasingly challenged and then disputed with. By the end the group, somewhat against one aspect of the project member's judgement, was choosing to pursue a course of organizing events.

5.5 SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS

Two further formal meetings were held in the community house. Membership was fluid - there were never less than 18 participants and there continued to be a regularly attending core of 10 with perhaps another 10 to 15 "committed" irregular attenders. By the end of the third meeting a "chairperson" and a "contact person" had been selected and plans made for future meetings, an "open-house" barbeque, a pre-Christmas party and several social outings. The project member was invited to return in about a month.

5.6 FOLLOW-UPS

The project member has maintained intermittent contact with the group, mainly on their initiatives over the nearly 15 months since the first meeting. The group survives, now reduced to a regular "core" of about 6 people but with a floating population of, they estimate, anywhere between 10 to 20 others. They meet approximately monthly, alternating between home-based meetings and social outings. All speak with affection for the group and readily allow that it has become a very important part of their personal and social lives. They no longer feel so alone, outside and disconnected. To some extent they feel whole again. It seems, to the observer, low-key, friendly and suburban. It provides a sense of belonging, of being part of the "mainstream". In that sense it is conservative and has failed to provide a platform for more substantial analysis and change. Nonetheless, it is valued by the participants.

5.7 THE PROFESSIONAL CONTRIBUTION

The project member retains an ambiguous evaluation of his own part in the history of this group. He is both pleased and disappointed and at times feels lost, as it were, on his own rhetoric. Would it have happened without him? Probably not. More clearly it had not happened before his intervention. In a recent conversation with a member from another group this sense of ambiguity was captured by her statement that "the group no longer exists ... several of them still see each other occasionally, well sort of regularly. I've been out with one of them a couple of times ... its really good ... we're like old friends. I've decided to join up with them again ... I've been feeling a bit cut-off lately."

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Kin and non-kin support in the separation process

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Marital separation is a critical event in an individual's biography which institutes the process of the reconstruction of self. There are two axes of development of this process which are dynamically interconnected; the transformation and maintenance of identity and the reordering of social relationships. Berger and Luckmann state that,

> "Identity is ultimately legitimated by placing it within the context of a symbolic universe." (Berger and Luckmann, 1979:118)

The individual is in a dialectic relationship to society and this relationship is mediated through his social relationships and more particularly through his social network. The intimate sphere of his social network is made up of significant others and it is these significant others who provide the shared understandings which constitute the symbolic universe. The individual in going through the separation process acquires meaning about himself and his situation from others and requires their support in negotiating this process.

This paper is based upon interviews with twenty men and women who were either separated or divorced. The sample was from the Perth metropolitan area. All of the sample were parents and approximately half belonged to a support organization, Parents Without Partners. Not all of the sample had family living in Western Australia.

I discuss the management strategies of these people in regard to social support and suggest that the situation is structured by the individual himself and by his social and cultural situation. There is an ordering and reordering of social relations after marital dissolution and this process is managed by the individual but within the context of impinging social institutions.

Marital separation is a crisis and following Berger and Luckmann (1979:175) it is a situation where "reality-confirmations have to be explicit and intensive." Reality-maintenance is provided by the actor's social network. Generally, separation involves some degree of transformation of identity and this was apparent in my sample. My informants underwent a reconstruction of self and the social support was provided by significant others who had gone through or were going through the same process. These significant others were usually new recruits to the actor's social network and replaced the significant others who were in the actor's social network prior to the separation. These new significant others constitute a reference group and play an important role in the transformation of the actor's identity.

The process of reordering social relations is essentially one of changes in composition and membership of the social network. The situation is determined by the action and perception of the actor, by the action and attitudes of the people around him, and through structures in the wider society. Factors such as income, gender, marital status, children, mobility, and availability of leisure time affect the structure and content of the actor's social network. I would suggest that the major determinant of membership in the network is marital status.

In the separation process the structuring of social relationships is one of movement through different circles of significant others as social relationships are reordered. Following marital separation there appears to be a disjunction in social relationships. The informants presented a common experience in regard to their relationships with married friends and the married world these friends represented. Most separated people perceive themselves as outsiders to society, as not fitting into society. They are either rejected by their married friends or perceive rejection and act accordingly. The family unit is often seen as a threat to their own reality. Margaret, one of my informants, summed up some of the issues involved,

> "You just don't fit. You don't fit because there's no husband to talk to. You can visit them but they don't come over. Hysterical wives automatically assume you are taking their husbands away. You don't get invited after a while."(Margaret)

Not being invited out was commented on by both men and women and a situation that served only to emphasise the norms of 'pairedness' was being invited out only when one had a partner.

The network based on the couple is reordered when the partnership ceases to exist as Cathy explains,

> "They were friends we made as a couple but they all just vanished. They could not be independent. They could not just sit on the fence ..... They found it easier just to ignore us altogether."(Cathy)

Cathy's friends found the situation too problematic. Other friends of informants made choices in allegiance and their choice was often helped by the movement of one of the partners from the locality. There was some continuation of friendships with married friends but such continuation is generally along the lines of segregation of the sexes. Some women commented that they still saw some of their old friends but only in the day when their friend's husbands weren't at home. Two men stated that they had kept all their friends but the interaction appeared to be along segregated lines also and their meetings were in the 'mateship' situation of fishing trips and drinking.

It was often stated that it was uncomfortable to live in a married world when no longer married. The informants were also active in changing their networks but usually the change is a gradual loss of touch based on the actions and attitudes of both parties. Diane said,

> "I unconciously dropped all my friends because I always felt terribly uncomfortable and I thought they were uncomfortable with me."
> (Diane)

This rejection or perceived rejection is bounded by the actions of the consociates from their marriage and by the pervading ideology of society that is evident in the actions and attitudes of the wider society. The discomfort of fitting into a'coupled' society is structured by the reference to Mrs., by school and other bureaucratic forms that require a statement of one's marital status, by the invitation cards for two, and other symbols that signify the high value placed on marriage in society.

One of the main reasons for the discontinuation of old friendships relates to the process of reconstruction of self. The actor recruits significant others that validate his new status and disassociates himself from relationships that are problematic to his new identity. Some of the informants explained the changes in terms of the objectivity of their situation and using Schutz's (1972:86-91) categorisation of motives these people acted in terms of 'because motives'. For instance, Sharon and Barabara both found that the only friends they were left with were girlfriends in a similar position. Others, like Cathy and Diane, had management strategies in relation to the building and use of their networks and acted in terms of 'in-order-to motives'. Diane, following a period when she had dropped all her friends of the marriage and felt very lonely, states,

> "Ifelt very isolated and alone and that was probably the time that I had to make my own friends and they had to be single.... it stops you from feeling different, if all your friends are single then you've all got the same aspirations, the same problems."(Diane)

Diane, like many others opted to join an association specifically for people who were single parents. She joined "Parents Without Partners" and this group became her social world, her symbolic universe.

Cathy did not join an association but saw a need to build up a close network of people like herself. Cathy explains,

> "I worked very hardat my friendships. I have a very small family here and I've built an extended family out of my friends."(Cathy)

Cathy purposefully built up a network of friends from people she met at parties, at meditation and other places.

Most of the informants had built up a close circle of friends from the people they met at support groups or through other activities. These groups acted for mutual support as the people recruited to them were in a similar position. Most of my informants belonged to a close network of friends who provided mutual support or had one-to-one relationships with two or three people who were also separated.

The network of friendships the actor builds up is central to the process of transformation of identity. Berger(1966: 121) suggests that movement from one self image to another requires a group to bring about this transformation. This group is a reference group which is not only constructive in the formation of opinions and courses of action but also provides subjective plausibility for the change in identity. Together the network confirms the identities of the actors and maintains the new reality. The close circle of friendship mediates a symbolic universe. This symbolic universe is constructed by the shared meanings the members have about their world and the structure of other worlds that affect their own situation.

The major basis of recruitment to the network is marital status and the social world is that of separated people. The major function of the network is to provide social support and the maintenance of social identity. There is a norm of reciprocity within these groups and emotional support is the main service that is exchanged. Cathy describes her relationship with her friends and points out some of the dynamics of the situation,

> "Friends become very important. I wouldn't say we live in each others pockets. We don't by any means. Different friends at various times. In the beginning we had to do that one one or the other of us needed so much support. It's just a tremendous thing. If I need those people I have them Unquestioningly and if they need me it's the same." (Cathy)

Unquestioning support and a shared understanding of what one is going through are important elements of the relationship. Most of my informants emphasised the need to be able to ring these friends at any time, day or night, and they would listen and not judge. There is a dynamic relationship in the network as members move in and out of the circle and in their provision and use of support as members pass through different stages. The newly separated usually require a lot of help and advice and the old hands like Diane act as advisers to others. The separated world has become an alternative lifestyle for Diane, it is her life. She is part of the community of sufferers but her friends and other members of Parents Without Partners see her as 'having got it altogether'(Pauline). Diane provides a lot of advise and support to others and in turn she receives validation of her identity and her social worth.

Emotional support and the maintenance of identity are the main functions of the support network but it also provides information, social companionship, mutual aid and new social contacts. Information is exchanged about pensions, child rearing, family law, etc. The importance of the friendships in providing someone to ask around to dinner or go out with was commented upon frequently. Cathy explained that she didn't mind ringing someone up and asking if the kids and herself could come to tea when she had no money but she would not borrow money as she could not repay that. Reciprocity is very important and explains why many of my informants would not use their close friends for babysitting. One of the major problems for many of my informants was the strain of being a full time parent and they felt that people in the same situation with the same burdens could not help.

Those people who did use kin for support generally used them in the provision of babysitting. Three of the women who said they found the constant caring for the children as extremely tiring said that it would have been a lot better if their family lived in Perth and was able to help out. The women whose husbands did not use access to the children had the worst problems with child care and said they needed time to get away from the children and be themselves. Some of the informants would have liked more support from their famiily but had been rejected by their family because of their separation. Elizabeth is a case in point. Elizabeth's family were shocked by the separation and although her husband had left her, they showed no support at all. They saw her as a person who coped, who didn't need help. Her family were further alienated from her by her three attempts at suicide and viewed her as crazy. Elizabeth would have liked material aid in what she saw as male chores around the house and felt that her daughters lacked a male role model. She considered that her five brothers could have helped out.

Pauline experienced similar attitudes from her family and said,

> "My divorce was all bad news in my family. It just wasn't accepted because it just wasn't the done thing. You know, you get married you stay married for life."(Pauline)

However, Pauline moved away from her family for her own reasons and was one of the three women who moved interstate to Perth to get away from their family. When Pauline first separated she went out a lot to different bars and nightclubs and went out with different men. She commented that she was glad her family were not around to interfere and criticise her. Some of the others were either pleased their parents did not live in Perth or kept them at bay as they considered their parents would not approve of the life they led.

Two of the men who are single parents refused to let their parents and sisters help and both said their family felt they'd had their noses put out of joint. Their motivation was based on a desire to succeed at parenting in their own right and the establishment of their new roles. Their denial of support was part of their establishment of their independence. After four years of separation Keith now feels he can draw upon them for help and would use them for babysitting.

Berger and Luckmann (1979) state that identity needs social affiliation and that the intimate sphere of significant others provides this affiliation. The close circle of friends or the significant others may constitute a control circle that maintains the subjective reality for the actor and other people may be barred from any relationship with the actor so that consistency is maintained. Keith acted to keep his family out of his life and spent most of his time in the company of other separated people. The reordering of social relationships is dynamically interconnected with the process of self-definition and as one's view of self changes so may one's significant others. The people who knew you as a 'rager' and are still in the disco, nightclub scene no longer validate your identity if you become a home person and so new social affiliations are made. Sharon comments,

> "I've sort of changed my mode of friends.
> I went through different stages..."(Sharon)

Some of my informants joined different groups in their search for a symbolic universe. Karen, who had joined the Mormons, the Socialist Workers Party, Birthright, Folk clubs and many other groups, said that the thing that helped her most was the friends she had at the time. They had changed over time but were usually other single mothers.

The importance of having significant others who share an understanding of one's situation is paramount but can be problematic. Separated people tend to become encapsulated in a sub-world of single people and other symbolic universes are perceived as a threat. The segregation of society into different worlds was commented upon and some people thought they needed to mix with the wider society and perceived problems for themselves and their children. Most single parents are women and many commented that they felt they were in a narrow world of women and worried about role models for their children. One man Frank, a single father, said ,

> "...most of the people I associate with are women. You see, I don't go anywhere where there's men. The kids haven't had much contact with men. It's women." (Frank).

As people begin to accept their new roles and identity they appear to require a wider social network and their reality - maintenance is routine rather than following a crisis. Christine is a person who can look back and see what she has been through and she sees society as consisting of separate worlds. She wants to be in a situation of a wider reality,

> "You just don't want women surrounding you all of your life. You want to be a full part of the community which includes men as well. It's just become very separate." (Christine)

The desire for a wider network is also related to the reconstruction of self and is part of the dynamics of the composition of the social network.

The changes in the view of self and the social network can also be related to the segregation of roles. The actor goes through a transformation of identity which entails the social affiliation with others and the acceptance of new symbolic universes. This process varies over time and with relationships. Most of my informants kept their social lives separate from their family lives and their social sphere became a separate reality. The roles of parenting and socialising becoming segregated in time and space. However, changes were determined by the significance of relationships to lovers and to the view of self. I have not discussed the role of lovers, defactos and remarriage in this paper but the new lover is the most significant of all significant others. Fourteen people in my sample said that their lovers had helped them in readjusting to the situation. Other changes follow redefinitions of self as a home person and in this situation there is a closer relationship between the actor's roles and his network.

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Three generations in the single parent family

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The idea of the family as an isolated nuclear unit (Parsons, 1971) has gradually given way to a reaffirmation of the importance of the extended family in the face of a growing body of evidence which points to the reality of continued family ties. Johnson and Vinick (1981: 70) sum up the situation by saying "The reports all tend to come to the same conclusion or implication: that despite the problems that exist in some parents' adult-child relationships the strong bond between parents and their children continues as they grow older".

According to Duffy (1981) assumptions about the loosening of kinship bonds were encouraged by methods of data collection prevailing at the time, where qualitative aspects concerning the degree of feeling and loyalty between family members were neglected in favour of quantitative data concentrating on incidence of contact. A preoccupation too, with household units and the fact that generations tended increasingly to live apart helped support this view. The importance of the telephone in linking families was largely unacknowledged (Uzoka, 1979).

This rediscovery of the importance of inter-generational family ties has arisen at the same time as there has been a marked increase in marital

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breakdown. It is not surprising therefore that there is a burgeoning interest in the effect of divorce on the extended family.

Various attempts have been made to place the knowledge relating to extended families within some theoretical context. Turner (1975) describes various models which can account for the dynamics between generations. Resource theory contends that the middle generation holds the greatest amount of power and ultimately emerges as the most influential family unit. Shorter (1960), cited by Turner (1975), Wood & Robertson (1978) present interaction in terms of ritual, filial duty and obligation. Turner (1975) and Fischer (1981) comment on the degree of role reversal necessary as each generation develops through its cycle. Fischer talks in terms of life cycle transitions and isolates marriage as a watershed which divides the child, adolescent singleness state from the child-bearing, rearing, and advancing adulthood stages. This division marks the end of the child-young adulthood period and progresses towards a reaffirmation of warmth and connectedness as the new generation emerges. Eventually, increasing dependency ensues, of the first generation on the second, as the former advances into old age.

The rising incidence of divorce requires that a further stage be introduced into this model. The needs of the single parent family interrupts these processes. Patterns of support may be reversed and transfer of dependency delayed at least until the divorced family is financially stable (Fischer, 1981).

Most research on intergenerational relationships has focused on the middle and older generations, whereas research on the grandparent/grandchild relationship has ignored this middle generation. Furthermore, this research has focused mainly on perceptions by the grandchildren of the role that their grandparents play in their lives (Neugarten & Weinstein, 1964; Wood & Robertson, 1976; Robertson, 1977). It is clear however, that the middle generation must be important in mediating the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren (Hagestad, 1981). The physical visiting of grandparents in large cities when the children are in primary school often involves the parents. In addition, given the busy social calendars of middle class children, their parents and grandparents, it is usually the middle generation that negotiates visits around these social and recreational programmes. There has been little examination of the quality of the relationships enjoyed by grandparents and grandchildren. One question of interest is the degree to which problems in relationships between the older generations might be reflected in the grandchildren's relationships with their grandparents.

In describing the links between generations, Bengston and Cutler (1976) conceptualize this relationship as being composed of three elements: association or objective interaction; affect or subjective interaction; and consensus or agreement in values.

Studies on attitudes and values between generations in non-divorced families have concentrated on issues such as politics, religious belief, etc. (see Troll and Bengston, 1979 for a review of this literature). There has been one study on differences in attitudes to mothering between mothers and grandmothers (Cohler and Grunebaum, 1981) and another Australian study on attitudes to motherhood in families that varied across social class and presence or absence of the father in the household, (Wearing, 1979). Attitudes to mothering have not however been examined both across generations and across different family settings. In addition other values implicated in family life (e.g. gender roles and attitudes to husband wife roles) have been largly ignored in a cross-generational, cross family setting context. Objective interaction (contact) has been looked at by Rosenberg et al (1973), Spicer and Hampe (1975), Anspach (1976) and Ahrons (1981). They found that the degree of association was maintained at the old level, or increased in frequency, especially in the first year following divorce. Predictably interaction with in-laws diminished although some studies indicated some variation here. The research also showed that being a woman and/or having custody of children was a major factor in amount of contact with consanguines (Ahrons, 1981) and in the maintenance of interaction with kin of former spouse (Spicer and Hampe, 1975). Of all extended family members, the greatest amount of contact occurred with parents.

There is evidence to suggest that the relationship between generations becomes closer after the divorce, although those family networks may not be supportive during the actual crisis of divorce (Wilcox, 1981). Ahrons found that some of her grandmothers reported greater emotional closeness with offspring than during the marriage. The majority felt that the divorce had not altered the nature of the relationship, but where change had occurred it was a positive one mainly in the direction of an increase in warmth between the generations.

While the divorce may bring family members closer together, it may also cause an agonising degree of soul searching on the part of the elder generation. As Brown (1981) points out "When a son or daughter divorces many parents not only feel that their interest in the future is jeopardized but that they have failed as parents. They may question their own life choices, struggle to avoid such uncomfortable issues or experience resentment that a son or daughter can make a different choice". The majority of studies indicate that a profound sense of sadness and helplessness overwhelms parents when children divorce, and that they become a major source of emotional support during this time for their offspring. Johnson (1981) refers to a study by Spanier and Cato (1979) in which 84% of divorcees had families that were supportive. Those who were not generally held strong views against divorce. Ahrons' investigation into grandmother effects demonstrated that the older generation offered similar emotional supports, and further, over half reported the divorce as having a positive effect on their children.

Aim:

This paper is part of a larger study on the functioning reality of 3 generations in the single parent family. The specific scope of the paper is firstly to look at the values and attitudes of mothers and grandmothers in single parent and two parent family settings. Does the family setting affect the mothers' and the grandmothers' attitudes and values or are the differences between the generations the more important factors? The question of interest here is how *congruent* are the values and attitudes between and across generations. The second thrust of the study is to explore the nature of the relationships between family members. In two ways. Firstly, *contact* i.e., the degree of contact that is maintained between the three generations. Secondly *affect*, the quality of the emotional relationship between the various members of the family. In respect to the qualitative side of the relationship two themes will be explored, firstly once again the issue of *congruence*, i.e., the degree to which the generations agree on how they perceive the quality of their relationships that they enjoy. Secondly, the issue of *needs vs. obligations.* As a bald hypothesis, one might argue that the relationship between generations in a single parent family may be more based on *needs* and less on *obligation* than in the two parent family, while the reverse situation may apply for two parent families.

Method:

A total of 51 interviews were conducted. Ten mothers in single parent families and their children and eight mothers in two parent families and their children were interviewed. The children in each case were only children, aged between 6 and 11 (i.e., in primary school). A total of 15 grandmothers agreed to be interviewed, one grandmother in each group declined. One grandmother had a daughter who was married and another daughter who was divorced, both daughters had children of about the same age. In this family it was possible to explore this grandmother's relationship with both her daughters and both grandsons. The mothers were largely middle class in background and aspirations. They were recruited through word of mouth. The main criteria for their selection (apart from having an available grandmother and one child) was that they were coping, i.e. they were not currently seeking assistance from a clinic for themselves or for their child. In addition the mothers in the single parent group had been separated for at least two years. One mother was living with her lover, but they had not married. We chose families with only one child as many single parent families are in this situation (English 1978) and it allowed us to look at intra family relationships without the effect of siblings. The reason that we have fewer families in the two parent setting is that it was simply very hard to locate two parent families, with children at primary school who had an only child. The income of the two groups was markedly different. The average annual income for the two parent families was about $35,000 - the range from $20,000 to $60,000. The average income for the single parent families was about $9,500 - the highest income was $20,000. All members of the family were interviewed in their own homes. The mothers' interviews lasted from 2-3 hours; the grandmother's $1^1/_2$-2 hours and the interviews with the children lasted about one hour. The interviews for the family members in the different family settings (one parent and two parent) were identical except that for the one parent families we included questions relating to the separation and its effects on the family members and the relationship with the non-custodial parent. As far as it was possible we asked similar questions of mothers and grandmothers. The interview/questionnaire was devised after a group interview (tape-recorded) with 7 single mothers, who had more than one child. The questionnaire was then further refined after interviews with four mothers and grandmothers in single parent families (with two children).

In addition mothers and grandmothers were asked to fill in a lengthy self-report questionnaire which examined the values and attitudes of the two generations in respect to:

a) their roles as women
b) their attitudes to husband and wife roles
c) their attitudes to motherhood

Description of attitude scales:

The women's roles section was measured by a short version of the scale devised by Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1973). This consisted of 15 statements concerning women's social, intellectual and economic status in society. For example:

> Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman, than a man.
>
> The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.
>
> There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

Twenty one items were selected from the Scanzoni (1978) scale to measure attitudes towards wife and husband roles within marriage. These were divided into five areas. The position of wife included two subscales with statements concerning traditional wife roles where the interests of the wife are secondary to those of her husband:

> A married woman's most important task in life should be taking care of her husband and children, and wife self-actualization, where wife interests are equal to those of her husband.
>
> Having a job herself should be just as important as encouraging her husband in his job.

The position of husband-father was measured by three subscales. The problematic husband included five statements emphasizing the degree to which a husband should be prepared to alter his interest to accommodate those of his wife:

> If her job sometimes requires her to be away from overnight this should not bother him.
>
> A married man should be willing to have a smaller family so that his wife can work if she wants to.

Institutionalized equality consisted of two statements concerning the status of her husband's interests over those of a working wife:

> if his wife works he should share equally in the responsibilities of child care.

The last dimension of the Scanzoni Scale, the traditional husband role, included two statements about gender related activity:

> The husband should be the head of the family.A married man's chief responsibility should be his job.

The motherhood scale comprised 35 statements describing topics such as caring for children and men, self identity, sexuality and birth control and abortion. Answers to the attitude scale were organized on a Lickert 4-point response style. Where "1" represented disagree strongly, and "4" an agree strongly response. Points were summed for a total score, with high numbers denoting an egalitarian pro-feminist stance, and low numbers a traditional one.

Results

1. Values and Attitudes

There were no significant differences between mothers in the single and dual parent family groups on any of the attitude scales. Nor were there differences between grandmothers in the two groups. The major differences were between generations in both single and intact families, where mothers were consistently more egalitarian than grandmothers on all attitudes.

There were significant differences between generations for both single and intact groups on (TATTS) total attitude scores ($p = <.002$, $P = <.001$), on (ROLATT) towards women's roles ($P = <.003$, $P = <.001$); and (MARATT) marriage scores ($P = <.003$, $P = <.009$). The differences were also significant in the single group for (MOTHATT) mothering where mothers were more egalitarian than grand-mothers ($P = <.003$).

In the sub-scales mothers from both groups were more egalitarian than grand-mothers in traditional wife attitudes (TRADMATT) ($P = <.000$, $P = <.015$) and on traditional husband roles (TRADHATT) the differences were also significant between generations in the single families.

INSERT FIGURES 1-4 HERE

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2. Relationships

Mothers and Grandmothers:

Contact:

One each of the grandparents in the two types of family setting were geographically isolated from their daughters. (One grandmother lived in Melbourne, one in Orange). We asked grandmothers how much contact they usually had with their daughters, how often they had contacted their daughter in the last week, who initiated the contact and at whose house they met. Excluding the grandmothers who lived out of town, grandmothers in the two parent families claimed they usually contacted their daughters on average 1.4 times per week. Actual contact reported average 2.3 times in the last week (including visiting and telephone). They initiated the contact on a 50/50 basis and met in one house or the other. In only one of the two parent households did the grandchild initiate contact with her grandmother irrespective of contact between the mother and the grandmother.

The most striking difference in the amount of contact between the two parent and the one parent families was that in two (20%) of the one parent families, the grandmother was in close daily contact with the grandchild. In one family the mother and her son lived with the grandparents and the grandmother was the principal caretaker for the child. "He considers me his mum". In another case, the mother and her daughter lived next door to her own mother and grandmother, i.e. there were four generations living in adjoining houses. In this situation, the grandchild usually returned home to her grandmother's house after school and enjoyed a very close relationship with her grandmother. In the remaining 70% of the one parent families, contact was estimated on an average at 1.1 time per week, but reported contact during the previous week was 2.1 times.

In these families contact was initiated on a 50/50 basis and they met in one house or the other. It is worth noting that in both family settings reported contact in the previous week greatly exceeds the grandmother's estimates of average contact. In only one of the families (two parent) did the visiting of gandmother happen through a sense of obligation. As mentioned above, in two of the single parent families grandmothers assumed a major role in daily caregiving reponsibilities.

Affect:

Most of the grandmothers in both family settings reported that they were getting on very well with their daughters now, that their relationship was good. One grandmother in each of the family settings reported continuing difficulties in their relationship with their daughters.

> I have to be careful what I say because it's easy to upset her. I'm always on edge and I wouldn't want to upset her for anything.....we don't get down to talking like mother and daughter. I sometimes wonder if she would come if it weren't for S. (grandchild). (family No. 1)

Similar difficulties emerged in one of the single parent families:

> We get on O.K. She's always been a bit lonely. I have to treat her with kid gloves. I've learned how to handle her. She doesn't make herself popular when she carries on like that...she has a difficult personality. I know how far I can go with her. You have to pick your times, otherwise you wish you hadn't spoken. (family No. 12)

One question that we asked was whether the grandmother felt that her daughter was like her. All the mothers, except the two above acknowledged some similarities between themselves and their daughters. The two grandmothers cited above, however, were adamant in their view that their daughters in no way resembled them.

> She is not at all like me, in nature, in outlook, nothing we have in common, so different. (family no. 1)

> No. She's like her father. A real replica of Dad. Looks like him, has a nature like him. Totally different people. In outlook, likes, dislikes, everything. (family no. 12)

One theme which was present in this account of how much their daughters were like them in the dual parent families, was one of admiration. Three of the grandmothers in the two parent families, in response to the question of whether their daughters were like them, suggested that their daughters were better than they were:

> My daughter is more efficient than I am. She is more ambitious in her professional life, more socially inclined. There's more money about today than 30 years ago. (family no. 2)

> She is like me in that she is caring about people, but she has a much stronger personality, perhaps because of her knowledge. She loves her husband and child as I do mine. (family no. 4)

> I don't really know. She is better than I am in many ways. Not as quick tempered as I am. (family no. 6)

Relationship with daughter when child:

Grandmothers in the one parent group were more critical of themselves as parents and reported more difficulties with their daughters when they were growing up than did the grandmothers in the two parent families. Only one of the two parent families reported any difficulties during childhood, while the majority of single parent grandmothers reported problems, either in the child or in their management of her. For two of the single parent families the daughter's difficulties appeared in adolescence.

> She was a very loving and placid child. She became different at about age 15. She used to envy a few girls that she made friends with - they had a lot of money. Lots of people said they noticed the difference. She was very lazy in the house. She never did a thing in the house. She always resented doing things. She was never disobedient, rude or offensive as a child or later. (family no. 19)

We asked the mother how they felt they had made out as parents as far as their daughters were concerned. Only one of the grandmothers in the two parent families expressed any doubts, only one of the grandmothers in the single parent families was free of them:

> With the love and loyalty they give me I think I couldn't have done a bad job. I haven't done badly. They are both honourable people. A. said she would always turn to me whenever there were problems, however shocking. (family no. 11)

But the other grandmothers in the single parent group all expressed varying degrees of self-doubt - the most extreme reaction being that of one grandmother who said:

> I did terribly (as a parent) - a mess. I think I probably didn't understand. I was too sick and too tired doing my own thing. I was too selfish to understand her and she was a rather difficult child. (family no. 15)

Congruence of views between generations:

Mothers and grandmothers generally concurred in their view of the closeness of the relationship. If the relationship was not close or was problematic, as it was in two of the families, this fact was mentioned by both women. One theme that was present in the dual parent families, but totally lacking in the one parent families, was one of dependence by the older generation on the younger. While the grandmothers were very pleased to have the support of their daughters, their daughters sometimes found this dependency demanding. For example, one grandmother in the two parent group described her relationship with her daughter as follows:

> She helps me a lot. She gives me a jolly good talking to. I accept it. D. (her husband) doesn't. He says - what has it got to with you. It's such a joy - she's so caring for me. Any problems I take to her and she makes me feel better straight away. (family no. 2)

The daughter says of her relationship with her mother.

> Our relationship is very close. But they (her parents) expect a little too much from me - they're too dependent. Asking me to make decisions for them. Intervene in rows between them. Dad wants to live with us. (Family No. 2.)

b. Grandmothers and grandchildren:

Contact:

With the exception of the two families where the child lived with or next door to her grandmother, the grandmothers saw their grandchildren about once a week. As was mentioned in respect to the contact made between grandmothers and mothers, only one child in the two parent group had independent phone contact with her grandmother. Clearly, then the grandmothers were in more contact with their daughters (by 'phone) than they were in contact with their grandchildren. Contact with the grandchild was usually made by means of an actual visit, greater contact was maintained with the daughter by 'phone. The children's perceptions of contact were fairly accurate. The only exception was one child in the single parent group who stated that she saw the grandmother once every two weeks, when grandmother said she saw her every week. The relationship between this grandmother and child was interesting. The grandmother stated quite firmly that her main relationship was with her daughter - "If you ask me whether I love her as much as G. I'd say no. She comes third in my affections". This grandmother sees the child as being very selfish in respect to her daughter. In her words her daughter has tried to give M. (the grandchild) everything she could. The grandmother sees her role as setting firm limits on the child (unlike the mother).

Affect:

In the majority of cases (about 80%) the relationship between grandmother and child was acknowledged as important by everyone concerned. Even in the two families where the mother and daughter's relationship was problematic, the grandmothers enjoyed warm relationships with the children and the mothers agreed that their relationship was close. The granddaughter of the grandmother who lived in Melbourne did not have a close relationship with her grandmother. She said in response to the question "What do you think of your Granny?"

> Quite good. She's very old and she doesn't do much. She just chatterboxes away with father and mother. She gives me lots of things. I see her twice a year. (family no. 2)

Most of the grandchildren saw their relationship with their grandmothers in terms of spoiling and outings, very few had anything to say about the personal qualities of their grandparent.

> She's good because she spoils me a lot.
> She spoils me.
>
> I like Grannies because they give you things, they give you food. We play cards and stuff.
>
> She's nice. We go shopping and visit people. When she's at home I visit her once a week.
>
> She's lovely. Well, she buys ice creams and when I was young she took me out to buy ice creams and stored them in the freezer. She's quite old now so we don't do much together.

Congruence:

The grandmothers who cared for their children on a daily basis had a realistic and concerned view of the grandchild, and one that was generally shared by the mother. In addition the grandchild saw the grandmother as a real person, not just in terms of the treats she provided. Let me report the view from the three generations, as it is rather different from the perceptions of other families.

The child:

> She's nice and helpful. She thinks a lot about other people before she does anything. She's a good artist. She's the best at baking cakes. I do lots of things with her. I do my projects, I learn art, I decorate cakes and things. I swim with her. I see her every day. Lots of times, and I stay

with her on Tuesday nights.

The mother's view of the relationship:

> They get on really well - they are much closer in the things they do together than me and K. It's good for Mum too.

The grandmother's view:

> I'm completely in tune with her. It's funny how you can identify with someone, like my early memories of myself. She's a delight. She's not without problems, a bit behind and lost because she hasn't reached puberty yet. She has a wide knowledge and understanding but she's not plugged in enough. Always very self reliant. Not the sort of child who has to be with someone all the time. Can always find something to do. She's very careless, but I think she has quite an understanding of things.

Mother's relationship with child:

All mothers in the dual parent group reported good relationships with their children.

The mothers in the single parent group reported more problems in their relationships with their children. One mother was seriously concerned at present about her relationship with her son. Two had sought psychological help for the children in the past, at the time of separation, but felt that their relationship was good now. There was also more of a range in the terms in which they were prepared to describe their relationship with their children, from very close:

> We have a very good relationship. He is sensitive but outspoken.....quite a delightful child. He is very much like me. I adore the guy. Sometimes I think I might make it claustrophobic. I do love him a good deal.

to the mother mentioned above who is concerned at her ambivalence about her son:

> I think at times he thinks I don't love him. He just comes and clings. I'm sure he doesn't see it as a relationship that the other kids have with their mothers. He likes my attractiveness and would like me to spend more time with him.

The children's view of their relationship with their mothers:

We asked the children three questions about their relationship with their mothers that could be answered in a quantifiable way. 1. Whether they saw as much of their mother as they wanted. 2. Whether their mother treated them in an age appropriate way, and 3. Whether their mother was proud of them. Two children in each family setting felt that they would like to see more of their mothers. One child in the dual parent group felt that he saw too much of his mother (she was a psychologist). All the children in the dual parent families felt that their mothers treated them as the age they were. 20% of children in the single parent group thought that their mothers treated them as older than they were. The children in the single parent family reported their mothers as being less proud of them than the mothers in the dual parent group.

Congruence in view of mother-child relationship:

There was more congruence in the view of the mother-child relationships for all three generations in the families with problems than in the families where the mother child relationship was reported as fairly close. For example, the child living with the grandmother was one of the two children in the single parent group who felt that he would like his mother to spend more time with him. In the majority of the other cases, irrespective of family setting, mothers and grandmothers focussed on rather diffrent aspects of the mother-child relationship:

Dual parent (family no. 4)

> Mother: our relationship is very good. Few battles of will, but I'd like him to be a little less demanding.
>
> Grandmother: I think she's a good mother, maybe she wants to make up for him being an only child. She worries about him a lot.

Single parent (family no. 19)

> Mother: A good relationship. She's very strong minded. Loving and caring. Terribly moralistic about doing what is right. I'd like more time to be with her.
>
> Grandmother: She is a wonderful mother. K's a credit to her, but I worry about them. She's an excellent mother....she could spend more on her clothes.

This, in my view, can be related to differences in values and attitudes between the two generations in terms of mothering and women's roles in marriage and in general.

55% of the grandmothers in the single parent group were quite critical/concerned about their daughter's relationship with the child. The most critical grandmother was the mother of the woman who is very concerned about her relationship with her child at present:

> She was wonderful as a mother when K. was younger. He was her whole life. But now she is rejecting him and blames him for the problems and for the fact that she had to get married. She finds it difficult to accept that he is her responsibility. She doesn't want him. We have made it easy for her to think that way.

The concern of the two grandmothers who shared the daily care of their grandchildren seemed to focus on the real needs of the children and less on what I would see as differences in values. The view of the other grandmother - the one who is living next door to her grandchild are illustrative:

> She (the mother) is very protective. Sometimes I don't think she's as close as she could be. She expects more of K.

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY:

The original framework for this paper proposed to examine intergenerational relationships in two major ways. Firstly in terms of congruence of values and attitudes. Secondly, relationships between family members were to be examined in terms of contact, and affect - the quality of the emotional relationship. The qualitative nature of the relationship between family members was explored in terms of the congruence in the view of that relationship between the generations and the role that needs versus obligations plays in those relationships. Our assumption was that needs may be greater in single parent families where the middle generation may still need help of various sorts from the older generations.

1. Values and Attitudes:

There was a clear difference in values and attitudes between generations, but not across family settings. Grandmothers were significantly more conservative in their attitudes to gender roles, husband and wife roles and motherhood than were their daughters. There was a trend for the gap to be greater between the mothers and grandmothers in the single parent families, than between the two generations in the two parent families. It should be noted, however, that this difference between the generations may disappear in a non-middle class sample. The mothers in both groups in one sample were well educated and/or in full employment, whereas none of the grandmothers were in the workforce. Wearing (1979) found in her sample of single mothers (the majority of whom were working class and not in the paid workforce), that their attitudes to motherhood were more conservative than those of a group of middle class married women in the workforce. Differences between women of this sort and their own mothers may well be less marked.

2. Relationships:

a. Contact: The greatest amount of contact was between mothers and grandmothers in both one parent and two parent families. Contact was estimated to be less (about once a week) than it actually occurred (about twice a week). There was less contact between grandmothers and grandchildren than between mothers and grandmothers. Contact between grandmothers and grandchildren was organized by the middle generation who were the mediators and facilitators of this contact. The exception to this state of affairs was the two grandmothers in the single parent families who were surrogate caretakers for their grandchildren. In one case the child had more daily contact with the grandmothers than with his own mother. In the other situation, the grandmother had more daily contact with her granddaughter than with her own daughter. In both these families, therefore, there was greater contact between the oldest and the youngest generation than between the two older generations.

b. Affect:

In most cases, in both family settings, relationships between mother and daughter were close and important. In one family in each setting the relationship between grandmother and mother continued to be problematic, although regular contact was maintained. One striking difference between the two groups was the grandmothers' perception of their success as parents and of their relationships with their daughters when they were growiing up. Only one of the two parent grandmothers reported any difficulties durinig childhood, while the majority of the single parent grandmothers reported problems. When asked how they had made out as parents, only one of the grandmothers in the two parent families expressed any doubts - only one grandmother in the single parent family was free of them. Apart from the two cases of grandmothers who were involved in the daily care of the grandchildren, the grandmothers' relationships with their granddaughters were fairly close. When the relationship was examined through the children's eyes, it was clear that the grandmothers were seen principally as providers of treats and spoiling. For the two grandmothers who were involved as caretakers, their own and their grandchildrens' perceptions of each other were warm and realistic. Both children saw their grandmothers as real people.

The relationships between mothers and children, with one exception, were reported as close and good at present, although two children in the single parent group were sufficiently disturbed at the time of separation for them to have professional help. One single mother was seriously concerned about her relationship with her son at present. The majority of children in both family settings felt that they saw enough of their mothers, that their mothers treated them in an age-appropriate way and that their mothers were proud of them. More grandmothers in the single parent group were critical of their daughters than were grandmothers in the two parent families.

Congruence:

There was a remarkable degree of similarity in the view of these intra-family relationships between the generations in the case of the grandmother/mother and grandmother/grandchild relationships. Whether the relationships were close or not close, problematic or without problems, the nature of the relationship was confirmed by the view from the different generations. The exception to this was the relationship between mothers and children. Here the grandmothers in the one parent families were often critical of their daughters. Even in the two parent families, if grandmothers voiced minor criticisms, it was usually not about the issues that the mother was concerned with. In the case of the single parent families this may be related to the greater degree of uncertainty that the grandmothers had about their own experience of mothering. The criticisms may also, in a more general sense, reflect the differences in values and attitudes to mothering between the generations, a difference that was revealed in the earlier part of this paper.

Needs versus Obligations:

In the introduction to this paper it was suggested that the single parent families may have a more needs-based relationship with their parents than do two parent families. That was not true in the majority of cases, although all the families had offered some form of assistance to their daughters during the crisis of separation. As has been stated above, two mothers in the single parent sample were dependent on their own mothers for childcare in a major way. Apart from these two cases, the degree of dependency by the mothers in the single parent families was no different than that for mothers in the two parent families - some grandmothers helped with babysitting, some did not.

Several of the grandmothers in the two parent families were dependent on their daughters for emotional support, while none of the grandmothers in the single parent group were in this situation. This is surprising given the fact that the grandmothers were relatively young and fit and financially secure, and did not therefore fit the model of the aging and resourceless dependent parent proposed by Troll and Bengston (1979).

In conclusion this paper confirms the importance of intergenerational ties, between all three generations, in one parent and two parent families, despite differences between generations in values and attitudes directly implicated in family life. The differences in values and attitudes between generations may be implicated in the lack of congruence in the view of the mother-child relationship by mothers versus grandmothers. More work is needed on a larger sample that includes working class families to confirm this hypothesis.

There was little evidence that intergenerational contact was maintaind through a sense of obligation. The differences in needs - the grandmothers' reliance on their daughters in two parent families where daughters are working and the involvement of grandmothers as caregivers in one parent families - are themes to be explored in a larger study.

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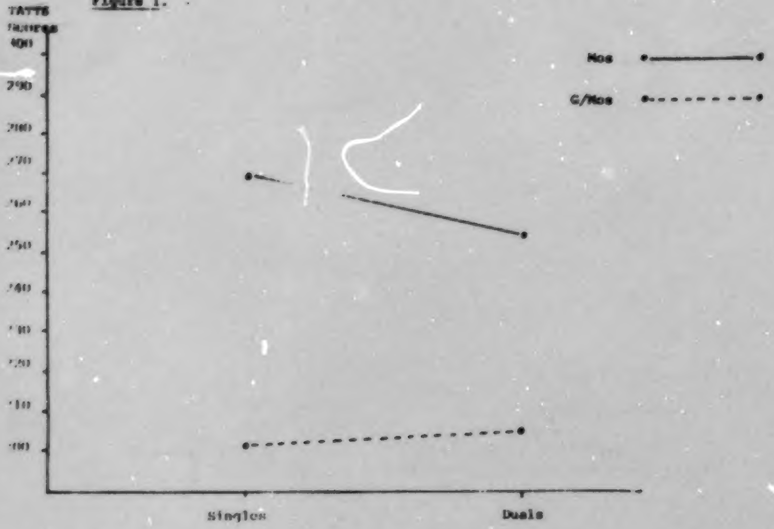
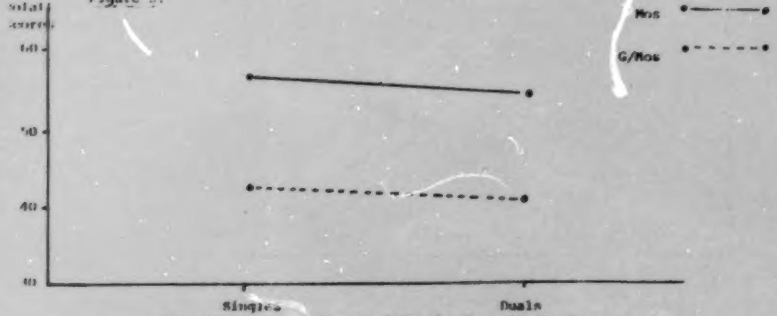
Figure 1.



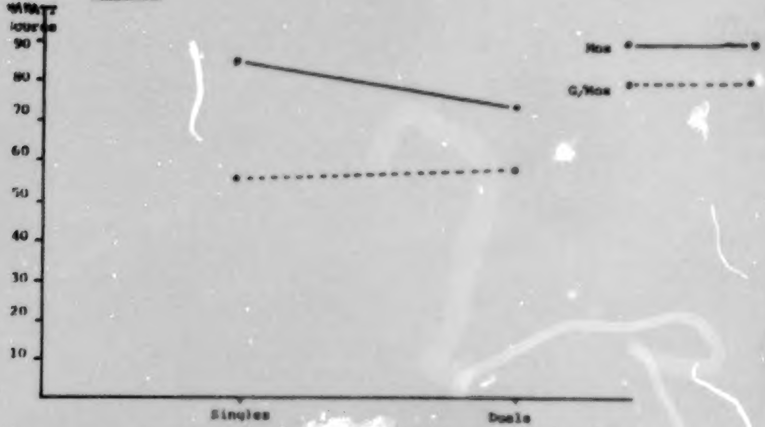
Mean Scores for Mothers and Grandmothers in Single and Dual Parent families on Total Attitude Scales (TATTS)

Figure 2.



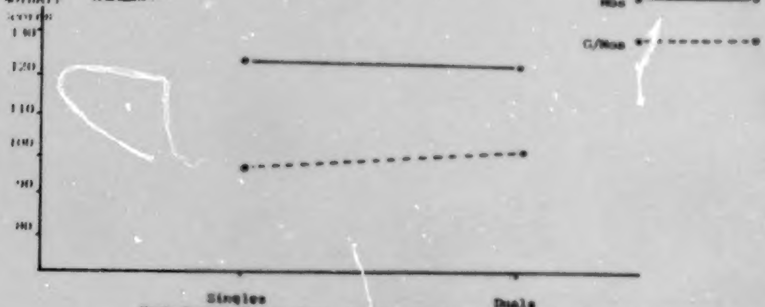
Mean Scores for Mothers and Grandmothers in Single and Dual Parent Families on Attitudes to Women's Roles (ROLATT)

Figure 3.



Mean Scores for Mothers and Grandmothers in Single and Dual Parent Families on Attitudes to Marriage (MARATT)

Figure 4.



Mean Scores for Mothers and Grandmothers in Single and Dual Parent Families on Attitudes to Mothering (MOTHATT)

The princess: Machiavellian maxims for single mothers

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What I intend to do in this talk is to explain how Machiavelli's ideas can be used to survive and grow in a situation where life has suddenly lost its old meaning and purpose. What I am going to say applies quite generally but today I will focus on single mothers because they are a group that I have studied and am indeed part of.

For those who know very little about Machiavelli other than that anything devious or underhand can be referred to as "Machiavellian", a brief outline of his life is essential. Machiavelli was born in Florence in the fifteenth century. He gained an empirical understanding of politics as part of the Florentine chancery until the return of the Medici rulers. During his time as a diplomat he met Cesare Borgia, the warrior son of Pope Alexander VI and was greatly impressed by Borgia's "boldness, resolution and cunning" (Bondanella and Musa (eds.); 1979:12) which he was later to refer to as *virtù*. Machiavelli was later thrown out of office and tortured and forced to retire from political life at the age of 42. From his country residence he began to write "The

Prince" which was about a new kind of political figure who was able to survive even though his power lacked "....a basis in tradition, history and custom" (Bondanella and Musa (eds.); 1979:18). He referred to the *occasione* (meaning rare historical opportunity) from which the prince could emerge by using his *virtù* (meaning ingenuity) rather than relying entirely on *fortuna*. From Machiavelli:

> "One can see that they [the most admirable princes] received nothing but the opportunity from Fortune which gave them the material they could mold into whatever form they desired; and without that opportunity the strength of their spirit would have been extinguished, and without that strength the opportunity would have come in vain" (Bondanella and Musa (eds.); 1979:93).

As I see it, single mothers have been presented with such an opportunity.

Machiavelli's main contribution to this paper, apart from providing survival maxims, is that he perceived that most people "....impute a meaning to their illusions, that is, construct social realities out of the shreds and patches of their experiences and memories" (Lyman and Scott; 1970:17). In the case of a relationship or marriage breakdown, the old illusions, the meanings attached to life have suddenly been removed. In a world where women particularly are encouraged to find the meaning of life through the relationship with a partner, whose lives are fractured by the meanings of others, this can be a shattering experience. Men are generally encouraged to find meaning through their work and this is just as tenuous.

Let me give you a few examples of how the meanings change when you become a single mother. Your child has a temper tantrum which, within the context of marriage is seen as just that, but now you recognise it as part of deep disturbance caused by the marriage breakdown. If a single mother tries to experiment with different kinds of relationships, new meanings are imputed to this behaviour. If a period of self-examination is undertaken and the single mother withdraws from interaction with men for a while, then the meaning attached is that the person has become a man-hater. If one's son plays with dolls, it is now recognised that he has homosexual tendencies caused by the lack of a father figure.

The Department of Social Security, which is the interface between most single mothers and society, attributes meanings to the single mother's behaviour. In a leaflet from them for last year's Budget they referred to

> "....the widespread concern about the growth in the number of sole parent families...... In shaping its policy of assistance to families the Government has sought to strike a balance which not only recognises the

> problems faced by sole parents, but, as far as possible, avoids creating further financial incentives for separation and reduces disincentives for forming new, lasting relationships".

With $1000 for a new wardrobe and unlimited babysitting most single mothers would do their best!

In my attempt to study single mothers, I sought to understand why some seemed to be surviving better than others. I thought I could depend upon a neat statistical tool which would produce the factors associated with adjustment to single motherhood. However, upon reflection, I realised how superficial this approach would be. Perhaps a handbook of survival skills was required or perhaps - Machiavelli! I began to understand that the apparently well-adjusted single mothers were really those who exercised some control over their lives rather than waiting helplessly for *fortuna* to smile on them in the form of another partner. And as Machiavelli tells us, *fortuna* smiles on the more energetic and courageous man (or woman).

What I am saying is that some single mothers seemed to have the power to change their lives and make them good. They were no longer "walk-ons", that is, Rosencrantz and Guildenstein characters whose lives reflected the actions and commands of others (Lyman and Scott; 1970:23). However, as Coltheart (1982:83) points out "The knowledge of power is a prerequisite for the exercise of power" (23) and initially the last thing single mothers are thinking about is their power - rather they are thinking about their powerlessness. However, they have been presented with a unique opportunity - a Machiavellian moment - from which it is possible to create new meanings in their life and emerge "The Princess", that is, one who has the power to act rather than power over others as in "The Prince". Thus it is possible for men or women to become "The Princess". Coltheart (1982:24) stresses that

> "The ideas of personal governance, of ability and responsibility, are in contrast to authority as dominance. Autonomy is "power to" not "power over"."

Lyman and Scott (1970:17) refer to the opportunity presented:

> "As the world reveals its arbitrariness, as *fortuna* unfolds before man, he increases his commitment to its challenge, his intense interest in its investigation, his desire for action".

But as Machiavelli warns:

> "And one should bear in mind that there is nothing more difficult to execute, nor more dubious of success, nor more dangerous to administer than to introduce a new order of things: for he who introduces it has all those who profit from the old system as his enemies, and has only lukewarm allies in all those who might profit from the new system .... partly because of the skepticism of men who do not truly believe in new things

> unless they have actually had personal experience of them." (Bondanella and Musa (eds.); 1979:94).

In this context, the "enemies" of the single mother are numerous but particularly the Department of Social Security, one's own parents and one's ex-spouse are examples.

In relation to dealings with the Department of Social Security or any other bureaucratic structure, Machiavelli had definite ideas:

> "Hence it is necessary for a prince who wishes to maintain his position to learn how not to be good, and to use this knowledge or not according to necessity." (Bondanella and Musa (eds.); 1979:111).

Many single mothers I spoke to were disadvantaged financially because their situation did not fit neatly into a line in a computer program, and on these occasions it is necessary to use the above maxim. In relation to the assaults this Department makes on the single parents' privacy, Machiavelli says:

> "A ruler whose people are well armed and prepared should always wait for the invasion of a powerful enemy, while a ruler whose people are poorly armed and unaccustomed to warfare should always keep a war as far from his own territory as possible." (Bondanella and Musa; (eds.); 1979:314).

One's own parents, even though they attempt to help, often have a definite interest in the old system of things - it was convenient, made them feel successful as parents and probably wasn't expensive. My knowledge of single mothers has shown me that the advice of parents was often destructive, involving blaming the single parent for "not keeping a marriage going". Machiavelli's prince knew how to cope -

> "A prince, therefore, should always seek counsel but when he wishes and not when others wish it; on the contrary, he should discourage anyone giving him counsel unless it is requested." (Bondanella and Musa; 1979:156).

I was surprised how many women made promises to their ex-spouse under some kind of duress or without adequate knowledge, particularly legal knowledge and then felt obligated to keep those promises. According to Machiavelli: "It is not shameful to break promises you were forced to make" (Bondanella and Musa (eds.); 1979:412) although "Prudent princes and republics ought to be satisfied with winning, for when that is not enough they generally lose" (Bondanella and Musa (eds.); 1979: 339). This is good general advice because it is important not to become so concerned with one's "enemies" that one loses sight of the aim and that is to remain "The Princess".

"The Princess" needs a network of people who can help her to become autonomous. "The Princess"

> "....must be cautious in believing and in acting, nor should he be afraid of his own shadow; and he should proceed in such a

> manner, tempered by prudence and humanity, so that too much trust may not render him imprudent, nor too much distruct render him intolerable." (Bondanella and Musa (eds.); 1979:131).

Most importantly, "The Princess" must create new flexible meanings in her life

> "Since carefully taking everything into account one will discover that something which appears to be a virtue, if pursued, will end in his destruction; while some other thing which seems to be a vice if pursued, will result in his safety and well-being." (Bondanella and Musa (eds.); 1979:128).

Finally, "The Princess" "....must strive to make everyone recognise in his actions, greatness, spirit, dignity and strength" (Bondanella and Musa (eds.); 1979: 136). In other words, present oneself from a position of power rather than helplessness and this will have a flow-on effect.

I would like to expand more on some of these points during the discussion, but to finish, becoming autonomous is a skill to be learned like any other and requires practice. But once it is realised that life has only the meaning we give it, it is possible to create new, more fluid meanings which are relevant to ourselves, rather than to a structure such as marriage or work - that is, they come from the heart rather than an external source.

To summarize then, what I have been saying is that when we are confronted with a life crisis such as marriage breakdown, instead of seeing it in a negative light, we can become aware that *fortuna* has presented us with a tremendous opportunity to use our *virtù* to become "The Princess".

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Social and psychological factors affecting a family over six generations: A study of the Nathan-Maclaurin-Mackerras family

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In 1963 Catherine Mackerras, who was then sixty-three years old, wrote a biography of her ancestor Isaac Nathan. She dedicated this book

To
my son
CHARLES MACKERRAS
a
great-great-great-grandson
of
ISAAC NATHAN

The biography, The Hebrew Melodist, includes a family tree which shows the line of descent from Isaac Nathan to Charles Mackerras, the internationally known conductor. However, Catherine had six other children. Alastair, born 1928, is headmaster of Sydney Grammar School; Neil, born 1930, is currently a solicitor working in Armidale, who was a barrister specializing in the Landlord and Tenant's Act, when he gave up his practice to go to Moree as a solicitor for the Aboriginal Legal Aid Service; Joan (Hall), born 1935, is a violin teacher living in Suffolk; Elizabeth (Briger), born 1937, is a partner in an interior design business in Sydney; twins, born in 1939, are Colin, Professor of Modern Asian Studies at Griffith University and Chairman of that School, and Malcolm, a lecturer at Duntroon Military Academy, Canberra, and well known as an election commentator. All except Alastair have children. The men have wives who have been the primary caregivers for their children. Joan has four sons and lives in Suffolk with them and her Australian husband, who is a music master at a private school. She has always done some part-time violin teaching, and has given performances. Elizabeth, who now has four children, studied ballet at a school in Surrey, and obtained a position at the Berne opera where she danced for two seasons before returning home, where she opened her own ballet school before her marriage to Andrew Briger, an architect, one time Deputy Lord Mayor of Sydney and currently Chairman of the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust.

The purpose of this study is to explore the history of this family of achieving Australians and, in elucidating that history, to consider the possibilities of generalization from it to a greater understanding of the processes of personal formation within families. The description of this family leads to the hypothesis that the family climate; the interactive effect of environmental factors; of society's expectations and of family myth, a linking of the concepts of the biographer Leon Edel and of the psychiatrist Ronald Laing, were all important. There are themes common to the family that can be identified and classified, but there are also individual themes that are a result of other mentors outside the family,-- other life experiences not shared by all-- that combine to form individual personalities. This complex situation is neatly expressed by De Waele and Harre (1979;187) in speaking of the biographer's task.

> If, as seems probable, the very psychology of social life is forever changing, not only will there be no exact contemporary parallels to [the individual] life but no previous or future lives will be exactly like it either.

In this view, a claim that there will be general implications for all lives to be uncovered in the close study of individual lives seems to be unwarranted. For not only is the individual's genetic structure unique but, according to Harre and De Waele, each setting or environment is also unique, and so generalization from the individual case is impossible.

However, not all theorists agree with this rather bleak view of the value of biography. Another way of examining individual or group lives is via Clifford Geertz' concept of "thick description", by which he means looking at the details of lives and at particular incidents in those lives in order to form generalizations about lives and culture in general. It is the ways of looking that are as important as the conclusions, and it will be in these ways of looking that the study of individual lives will have generalizability.

Family myths have an importance for family members in sketching the possibilities for career choice and in having the effect for some family members of making ambitions become expectations. They are also responsible to some degree for the idea individual family members have of themselves. R.D. Laing's approach in *Politics and the Family* is illuminating this area.

THE GENERATIONS

We start with a musician and with a myth. George IV had appointed Isaac Nathan his musical historian and instructor in music to the Princess Charlotte whose death reduced his expectations of aristocratic patronage considerably. Nathan had persuaded Byron to write poetry to go with his selections of ancient Hebrew Melodies and had dedicated the work to Princess Charlotte. Nathan wrote songs and a comic opera and an operatic farce produced in London in the 1820s. Isaac told his children that he had done some "secret work" for William IV for which he expected to be paid a large sum of money. He had supported his large family on the strength of these expectations and, when he was not paid, he emigrated to Australia in 1841. Nathan was warmly received in Sydney. The *Australian* introduced him to its readers:

> Mr. Nathan enjoys the advantage of possessing in the very extreme degree, both honourable birth and polished education. The descendant in a direct line from the last King of Poland, the unfortunate Stanislaus, his immediate ancestors paid the usual penalty which is ever attached to scions of royalty in misfortune. His father was compelled, at a very early period of his life, to fly from his native land, and his grand uncle forfeited in the cause of loyalty and family attachment those revenues which, should the Russian despot ever be compelled to disgorge the spoil, would yield to their true owner, upon every recognized principle of descent, a princely independence. (Australian, September 7th, 1841.

Whether or not his aristocratic pretensions, to which no reference has be found earlier than his arrival in Australia, helped, his unchallenged musical expertise certainly did. He did everything; he was choirmaster at St. Mary's Cathedral; opened an academy of singing, and was in charge of the music for the opening of the York Street Synagogue. (Mackerras, 1963:12) Covell (1967:13) describes Isaac Nathan as the most prominent figure in the music of colonial New South Wales around the middle of the nineteenth century.

Isaac Nathan composed "Don John of Austria", the first opera composed and performed in Australia. Catherine Mackerras wrote that Isaac Nathan ought to be regarded as an Australian pioneer. She argues that cultural pioneers deserve the same esteem as rural pioneers,

> We should not too lightly assume, as we in Australia do assume, that pioneering consists only in wielding spade and axe and driving the plough. To set up the type for an opera in five acts is as hard and requires nearly as much courage; and this effort must come after the effort of composing the work. (1963:96)

Nathan's eldest son, Charles, already a doctor, accompanied the rest of the family to Australia. In Sydney, Charles married a wine merchant's daughter, Harriet Fisher, in 1842. He became a Warden and Trustee of St. James Church in King Street where his memorial tablet erected by "his fellow parishioners", describes him as "the perfect pattern of a Christian gentlemen". In 1845 he was the first surgeon appointed to the new Sydney Infirmary and Dispensary. In 1847 he "made Australian medical history" by administering ether during the extraction of teeth by a Dr. Belisario. He was made an honorary F.R.C.S. and was the first consulting surgeon to St. Vincent's Hospital. (Catherine Mackerras. ML MSS. 3539 3K60951)

Henry Normand Maclaurin, a Scottish surgeon in the British Navy, settled in Australia in 1871, and married Charles Nathan's eldest daughter Eliza a year later. Maclaurin had been a surgeon in the Royal Navy for thirteen years, and had developed a wide range of interests. After his father-in-law's death in 1872 he took over his practice in his house in Macquarie Street. Normand Maclaurin took responsibilites in the fields of health administration, insurance and banking and in commercial enterprises such as the production of sugar. He was nominated to the New South Wales Legislative Council in 1889. The University of Sydney was an enduring interest in MacLaurin's life. He was a member of its Senate in 1883, Vice-Chancellor from 1887-1890 and in 1895-6, and Chancellor from 1896 until his death in 1914. His investments prospered and at his death his estate was valued at sixty-eight thousand pounds, which is about two million dollars at present day values.

In 1889, Normand MacLaurin, on a visit to Britain. gave an address on "The British Race in Australia" to the British Association, in which he lauded the physical health of the Australian-born and pointed the way for future developments in Australia's cultural life.

> It is true that we have not as yet produced any great works of art or any literary masterpieces in Australia, and that we are still dependent to a certain extent upon the mother country for suitable persons to fill the most eminent posts in our universities. But the apparent barrenness of the Australian intellect does not, I believe, arise from any inferiority in capacity but from the unfavourable circumstances in which it is placed for literary or artistic development. (Sydney Morning Herald.1889)

Maclaurin drew his analogies from Scotland. When he spoke on the subject of Federation he said that the states ought to be linked in the way that Scotland and England were linked in one Union with a centralized government. He thought that separate state parliaments were a waste of money. (Speech in the Legislative Council, August 5th. 1897. N.S.W. Parliamentary Debates, Volume LXXXIX, p.2620.)

Normand's son, Charles, studied medicine at his father's Alma Mater, the University of Edinburgh. During his first vacation he went to discover the environment which had nurtured, or perhaps toughened, the Clan Laurin, and his father. He met his future wife, Nannie Croal, the daughter of a civil servant and journalist, while on this holiday.

When Charles and Nannie Croal married in in Sydney 1897, Charles had established a medical practice and his income was one hundred and fifty pounds a year. On that they were able to keep one servant, and as his income increased so did the number of servants. Catherine's view of her mother's life was that,

> As the wife of a successful medical man, my mother did not expect to do anything at all in the house, although I do remember her helping the housemaid to make the big double bed. She also washed her best china herself and dusted the drawing room. All her friends were in the same position. It was part of the established order of things, but this leisured class of women was always much smaller in Australia than in England. (1964)

Charles and Nannie's only child, Catherine Brearcliffe MacLaurin, was born in 1900 and named after Sir Normand MacLaurin's mother. From the beginning great emphasis was placed on her education. It must infect her with neither religious beliefs nor an Australian accent. When Catherine was eight her grandmother died and she, her mother and her father, moved back to the Macquarie Street house so that her mother could direct the household. It was a house of adults; Catherine's grandfather, as Chancellor of the University did much of his business at home, and Charles, her father, carried on his medical practice in the house. Her Uncle Normand also lived at home and could often be heard pacing his room as he worked out his legal cases. Her mother's sister Sally, a teacher, came from Scotland to stay with them. After dinner her father would play the Steinway grand piano and her grandfather would read her the Aeneid and translate it to her. Because her home was a place for business and therefore, during business hours, no place for a child, Catherine often had to resort to spending time with the servants who were all Irish Catholics as her grandfather thought that there ought to be no religious arguments below stairs.

When Catherine was ten years old the family went overseas. After touring through France exploring its churches with her Aunt Sally, who had changed her

Presbyterian allegiance to become an Anglo-Catholic, Catherine and Sally were joined in Paris by Catherine's parents. After their arrival in Edinburgh, Catherine stayed with her elderly aunts and spent her time being taken to Presbyterian Churches or to visit even older relatives. Her father and mother stayed in separate lodgings while Charles studied for his Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons, which was the reason for their trip.

On their return to Australia, Charles and Nannie built a house in Rose Bay where Catherine played tennis on the court at the water's edge and lived a less restricted life than when she had been surrounded entirely by older relatives.

The outbreak of World War I disturbed the Rose Bay idyll. Normand MacLaurin, Catherine's uncle and Charles' brother, was made Brigadier of the 1st Infantry Brigade of the Australian Imperial Forces in 1914. Catherine's grandfather died in August 1914. His son, Normand, left for Gallipoli, and six months later, word came that he had been killed on a Turkish hillside. (Bean,1941:521) In August 1915 Charles MacLaurin was appointed a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Royal Australian Army Medical Corps, and was placed in command of a medical unit. He decided to take his wife and daughter with with him as the families of doctors were then permitted to travel overseas with them.

During his time in France, Charles had the task of operating on great numbers of badly wounded men. He also observed the waste of lives due to the lack of organization of the troops. (MacLaurin, Sydney Morning Herald 26 July 1919) After the family returned to Australia early in 1917 Charles largely gave up the practice of medicine to spend more time on his writing. He was able to do this because he had inherited money from his father and from his brother, Normand. He was known for his synthesis of history and medical diagnosis as he examined the lives of the great men and women to analyse the effect of their illnesses of body and mind on the course of history.

After her return from England in 1917, Catherine first studied at the Conservatorium, but, realizing that she did not have the talent for a career in music, she matriculated so that she could enter the University of Sydney. There she felt part of a minority among the graduates of the new high schools and the returning soldiers from World War I.

Catherine made many trips overseas. In 1922 she accompanied her parents to Padua where her father represented the University of Sydney at the celebrations of the 700th Anniversary of the founding of Padua University and to London, where her father was arranging publication of his book, Mere Mortals.

Catherine married Alan Mackerras in 1923. They left soon afterwards for America where Alan had obtained a position with the General Electric Company in Schenectady, New York, where he, like some other young recent Engineering graduates from the University of Sydney, planned to gain experience in American industry. The couple returned with their American-born son, Charles, after spending some time in England.

Catherine's Views and Attitudes.

Catherine was no proponent of women's rights and wrote an article in "The Empire Gazette" of 1931 suggesting that women who worked were taking the jobs of men and would therefore be better out of the work force. Catherine was made aware of the plight of those out of work by men who begged for food at her door. She found herself defending religion to one man who told her bitterly that faith and hope "Were all right for you!" (Mackerras,1964)

In 1933 Catherine became a Roman Catholic. Her husband found her belief incomprehensible as did her friends. These friends were shocked when she announced that she was going to become a Catholic. Some thought she was joking, some tried to change her mind, and a few accepted it as an eccentricity. For some, this action meant that she found interests and friends that they did not share and began a separation of their ways.

However, in becoming a Catholic, Catherine was conservative; it was to Newman, to Chesterton, to Belloc that she was drawn. Later she became the president of the Latin Mass Society, a focus for those who resisted change in the Catholic Church, and in particular, the replacing of the Latin Mass with Mass said in the vernacular. Her action in becoming a Catholic was a result of her assembling alternative viewpoints. She disliked her father's agnosticism because it seemed related to his depressive tendencies. She felt her mother's Presbyterianism to be limited by too great a consideration of for the rules of man with which she was impatient. When she discovered that the Rose Bay Presbyterians used raspberry syrup instead of wine in their communion service because many of the congregation were teetotallers she was scathing in her adolescent condemnation of their narrowmindedness. She was unable to accept either what she categorized as narrowminded Presbyterianism or the pessimistic agnosticism of her father. She sought her own solution in what she saw as the reasoned authority of a religion which had links to the culture of Europe.

As her children were growing up Catherine created a kind of salon at home where her children were encouraged to discuss music and history with her. There were long talks around the dinner table. If there was a dispute about a point of fact Catherine would say "Let's look it up". The Everyman's Encyclopaedia was kept in the dining room.

Neil said "We were brought up to be superior. Mother used to approve of our friends or not... It was definitely thought that only a minority of friends were suitable for us". When I asked Neil what his parents would have regarded as a successful life he said, "We believed in the work ethic; that you had to work. My parents believed in being gentlepeople. They didn't believe in being common...". I then asked him what "being common" meant. He said "It's very difficult to say now what 'being common' meant. That's a concept that's almost completely gone out and it's certainly not a concept that I use with my own children at all". It appeared that Neil felt that there had not been a complete absorption of his mother's values by her children. "My father had an Australian accent and we all really have Australian accents to a large extent and our children certainly have." (Interview, 1981)

The issue of cultural identity has been discussed with relation to the Mackerras family in another paper. (Power,1982)

Catherine's Influence on her Children.

Charles MacLaurin had left the income of his estate to his wife and then his daughter, Catherine, but had restricted the use of the capital during their lifetimes. It could, however, be used for educational purposes, and the Mackerrasses had grown up knowing that if they wanted to study in England there would be money available. Charles was given money from this fund when he went to England in 1947 to study conducting. Subsequently, Alastair went to Cambridge , Joan studied at the Royal Academy of Music and Elizabeth went to a ballet school in Surrey. Colin also studied at Cambridge.

Sir Charles Mackerras, despite maintaining a residence in London, where he has lived most of his adult life, still refers to himself as an Australian, and has accepted a role as a "famous Australian". He conducted the orchestra which played at the opening of the Sydney Opera House. His interests in music are wide, but he is a world authority on the music of Janacek. Charles had gone to London after the war with the intention of learning more about conducting than he had been able to do in Australia but he found "that it was extremely difficult to study conducting because all the good conductors were rushing around earning money." He took advantage of an opportunity to take a British Council Scholarship to study

Czech music in Prague. It was in Prague that he developed his interest in Janacek.

Charles said of his mother: (1981)

> She thought that Europe was the centre of culture. She did not like the fact that Australia, through its distance from Europe, was becoming less and less Europeanized and more and more aligning itself with the things in Asia and to her it was a very good sign that so many people came out here from Europe to escape from the tyrannies of the Communist world.

An Australian Cultured Class?

One of the ideas that I investigated in trying to analyze these data is that they, the MacLaurin-Mackerras family, represent a cultured class, perhaps an Australian intelligentsia. George Simon, the editor of "Biography", suggested that I consult with Lord Annan, who wrote a biography of Leslie Stephen, Virginia Woolf's father. In this biography Annan described the development of an aristocracy of intellect.

> the next generation is enabled by its parents' efforts to compete successfully for the prizes of school and university life and the learned professions are open to them. They have to work for their honours; competitive examinations discipline their minds and force them to show their mettle. But their intellect is trained principally at home where from childhood they are accustomed to hear their fathers and uncles discussing abstract questions with friends. When their turn comes to marry they often choose the daughter of one of their father's circles whose tastes and fortunes are similar to their own or one of the sons may introduce a fresh strain by marrying a thoughtful girl from an upper class family such as the Balfours. One of

> the girls may attract the younger son of a nobleman, a Cecil, a Russell or a Lyttleton. Their minds are disciplined at Oxford or Cambridge, they talk a common language and share similar experiences which enable them to develop intimate friendships with each other. In these ways an aristocracy of intellect forms. (Annan, 1951:1)

However, when I talked with Annan he said he doubted if I would find an aristocracy of intellect in Twentieth Century Australia because it was a Nineteenth Century phenomenon and that he had actually traced the descendants of the group he had called intellectual aristocrats and found that their great-grand-children were not all going to be professors or to occupy high positions. He thought it a function of modern life that there are now so many jobs that can be labelled intellectual, from advertizing to the highest research, that no one group could dominate it. He did say though that a group of the higher professions could give an intellectual tone to a society, although he qualified this by saying that he thought that that sort of class in Australia would be much more conservative than you usually find an intelligentsia being.

This sort of analysis could be applied to the data on the family being studied. Sir Normand Maclaurin was clearly of the group who saw themselves as giving Australians the lead in how they ought to run their universities, their banking, their insurance, and how they ought to write their Constitution. Men of this type did influence the sort of Australia that developed in the nineteenth century and the models were derived from Britain. Charles Maclaurin, his son, shared his father's codes of behaviour. He was an intellectual, a writer, but not a public figure. He was conservative. Catherine, Charles' daughter, was also conservative. Malcolm had this to say about his mother. "She was very intellectual. She was very reactionary. She wasn't your modern liberal intellectual. She was, well, a reactionary intellectual." (Interview, 1981) She and Alan wanted their children to absorb their values and to behave as "gentlepeople". They disdained the conspicious consumerism of the family of a bookmaker who lived next door. Alastair says that they wanted their children to go into the professions and were disappointed that Charles wanted to leave school early, and that he, Alastair, wanted to become a schoolmaster. They wanted their children to become doctors and lawyers and engineers. Catherine had high expectations for her children. Alastair says "She was over there [in England] banging on people's doors to have them accept me...She had this theory" [which Alastair does not accept], "that you should always deal with the top".

Annan says that it is not possible in Twentieth Century England for one group to go on occupying all the high positions because of the expansion of intellectual tasks. However, in the forties and fifties in Australia, although, theoretically, all positions were open to all, those who had been brought up expecting that they had some sort of position to uphold might be expected to do well in this competition. Thus, the Mackerrases sought honours and scholarships. Charles gained an oboe scholarship at the age of thirteen, and, later, a British Council Scholarship to study in Prague. Alastair gained school scholarships which identified him early as "clever". Colin entered the field of Asian studies because there was a scholarship in the area, which meant that he could gain prestige and be self-supporting. Malcolm gained the Sydney Grammar Prize for Debating and and he worked as a trainee executive with B.H.P. to pay his University fees. Elizabeth, who had left school at fifteen, was able to retrain in business education under a government retraining scheme (N.E.A.T.). Catherine's book, The Hebrew Melodist, was published with the aid of a Commonwealth Literary Grant.

INVISIBLE ESTABLISHMENT

It is the contention of this paper that each generation is influenced by the achievements, even if "mythological" in Edel's (1951) sense, of past family members and that the history of the family is seen differently by each generation. This is complementary to Boszomenyi-Nagy's (Stierlin,1976:501) notion of every family's "invisible establishment".

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> Whereas the visible establishment of a family can be seen through physical, behavioural and overt psychological manifestation of the members, the invisible establishment continues from generation to generation via devotion, expectations, legacies and ledgers of merit.

An influence derived from an understanding of "invisible establishment" or a retroactive generational influence is that of the process of "delegation". The present status of the Mackerras family may largely be explained on the basis of delegation by Catherine to her children as a central influence on their formation of values, attitudes, beliefs, and on the development of their careers. As Boszomenyi-Nagy says

> The process of delegation thus originates both from the systematic deep dynamic core of intergenerational relationships and from the person to person obligation ledgers developing between a particular parent and his or her child.(501)

The process of delegation is not clear-cut, however. Catherine wrote articles about Charles's activities for musical journals both under her own name and under pseudonyms. These may be judged as attempts to facilitate Charles' career. However, these articles contain lists of geneology telling the reader that Charles is the son of an "Honours-Arts graduate of the University". One columnist perceived that two members of the same family were "independently competing for the musical limelight" when Catherine's book The Hebrew Melodist was being launched at the same time as Charles was returning to Sydney as a guest conductor. (Unidentified newspaper cutting. ML.MSS. 3539 3K60956) Catherine may have been attempting to broaden the beam of her son's limelight by publishing a book about Charles' musical ancestor and by dedicating her book to him, but the delegation Stierlin (1976) talks of is all the more significant when it is an ambivalent sort of delegation which means that Catherine was not unconsciously living through her son, she was actually using him to gain attention for herself.

CONTEXTURAL SITUATION

In a further analysis of Stierlin's paper George L. Mosse comments:

> Human activity in history continually interacts with the objective situation which itself does not remain the same very long. I fail to see why psychohistory cannot accept these realities and study the dialectical relationship between action, human cognition and the contextural situation as well as such psychological elements as are relevant. (Stierlin, 1976:505)

With these points in mind Catherine's attitude towards her own talents, achievements, and the role of women, must be assessed against the realities of the 1920's and 1930's when she made her choices. Catherine told her children that on her graduation from university she and a young man tied for the University Medal for History. She said that it was given to the young man because it would be more important to him in his career because he was a man. A contemporary, who won the English medal in the same year, feels that Catherine, who gained equal second place in history, was "quite wrong" in thinking that she had been discriminated against on the grounds of her sex. This story is important because it shows that Catherine was ambivalent about competing with men. Catherine's contemporary told too of how, when they were both eighteen and deciding on careers and Catherine was exclaiming that the choice was too wide, that she "wanted to be everything", her mother had calmly commented "You had far better marry and have sons and they can be everything". Catherine's children remember her repeating what her father had told her "Your brilliance will come out in your children". It may be that he,too, limited his predictions to the males of the family because he wrote in his book, Mere Mortals, "As woman seldom stammers so she is seldom afflicted by psychasthenia, which, being a variation, appears to be almost confined to the male, like genius." (MacLaurin, 1925:23)

In a group interview (4.10.1981) the Mackerrasses argued whether there was a difference in Catherine's encouragement and expectations of her children. Colin expressed a distinction: he felt that although all may have been encouraged, less was expected of the girls. This ties in with opinions expressed in an interview with an adult who visited the house as a child and said that a great deal of fuss was made of Colin and Malcolm when they said anything clever, whereas she felt that Elizabeth did not involve herself in the discussions and so did not receive extravagant praise.

When one reads Laing's question to a client "Who does he take after?" it seems that Laing is iconoclastically denying the technical expertise of psychoanalysis in favour of idiomatic old wives' tales. But this idiomatic expresssion "Who does he take after?" provides those interested in personality an entree into the phenomonology of everyday attributions, the nexus of the family and the expression of guilt and responsibility and the extent of a concept of self as distinct from other members of the family.

Catherine was an only child and Alan had only one brother who lived interstate, so the family consisted of nuclear family only, without a wide kin network. Catherine did have cousins but she tended to dismiss them as unimportant. Joan said:

> Mum always used to say of her grandparents that the father was very clever and the wife was very stupid. And they had the family you would imagine. Two of them were brilliant, like the father; two of them were stupid, like the mother, and one of them was average. And the two who were brilliant were the first two, her father and Uncle Normand, who was killed in the war. (Joan; interview, 20.4.1982)

By emphasizing the MacLaurin ancestry, Catherine had categorized the Nathans as stupid. Yet, when Catherine wrote The Hebrew Melodist" she was tracing the descent of her musical eldest son through this "inferior" branch. Her ambivalence is shown in this book as she tends to undervalue Nathan's achievements to some degree. At the time of publication some reviewers praised her objectivity while others lamented her overcritical stance. There was an arbitrary sort of emphasis on who she was descended from. Myth was created by ignoring facts which did not fit the desired image.

Alan's father, who had deserted his mother, was thought by his grandchildren to be dead, while, in fact, he was living with his new family in northern New South Wales. As a young man Neil, perusing the electoral rolls, discovered the existence of his grandfather's second family. Joan said, "We thought it was rather amusing. After all, we were the respectable side of the family" (interview, 20.4.1982).

One question which occurs is why Alan did not play a more active part in his children's development. Boszomenyi-Nagy contributes the following insight:

> Through his deeply ingrained loyalty and obligation every child is burdened with the task of exonerating and explaining the "shady" aspects of his family background. In my experience the most difficult facets a child has to deal with in his past are the shame of their

> parents' and ancestors' lives. (Stierlin, 1976:501)

Thus, it is postulated that Alan compensated for the shame of his father's desertion of his family by relating and identifying with his mother's family who were respectable and prominent Sydney lawyers. He was unfailingly well-mannered and courteous in the face of Catherine's assertive bossiness.

Catherine reflected a good deal on the importance of her family. She wrote *The Hebrew Melodist*", a biography of Isaac Nathan, which was published in 1963. She wrote about her early life and her conversion to Catholicism and this was published in serial form in *The Catholic Weekly*.(1964) She was at work on the manuscript of a book about Sir Normand MacLaurin when she died. She had written some minor fiction and a series of radio talks called *The Daily Devotional*. It is clear that the past is influential through interpretations and suppressions made in the present. Catherine Mackerras is the dominant figure, but because her image of success was masculine, she chose to have higher expectations of her sons. Their mode of operating is "feminine" in the manner that Graeme Little talks about the "feminization of politics". It is based on consensus, analysis, absence of strong authority figures, attempts at democracy. (Little,(1972) There is in all the Mackerrases of this generation an inquiring tolerance into different ways of life. They are not merely conservative; they are open to an internationalism of culture, to an endeavour not to impose an attitude, but to make other cultures popular and comprehensible. They have sought to make comprehensible Czech music, Peking Opera, Australian elections, opportunities for the talented, and legal rights for the Aborigines, by their own total immersion in the fields to which their interests have led them.

The information gained in an interview is not history but a phenomenological interpretation of a situation. R.D. Laing in his work with schizophrenic patients describes what appear as truisms once one has appreciated them.

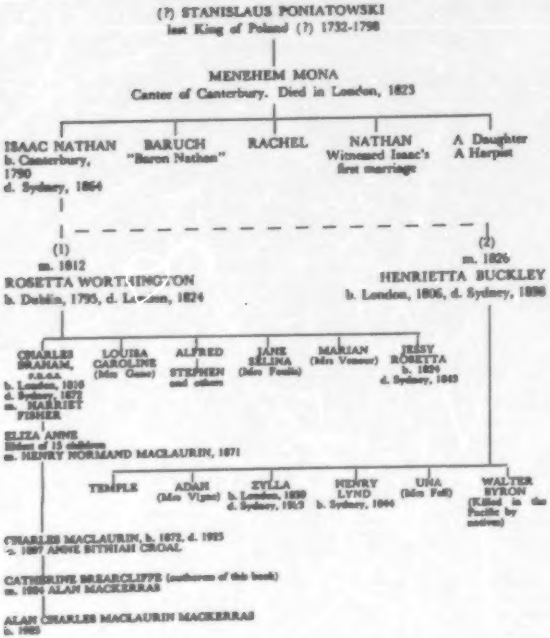
> What one does when "taking a history" is not primarily to discover history. One uncovers a story, that is, one person's way of defining the situation; this way of defining the situation may be an important part of the situation we are trying to discover. (Laing,1976:31)

In the case of the Mackerrases we are attempting to define the conditions that facilitated achievement. A part of these conditions is how the participants saw their situations. Looking from a Laingian viewpoint it does not matter about the accuracy of the history except to note the omissions.

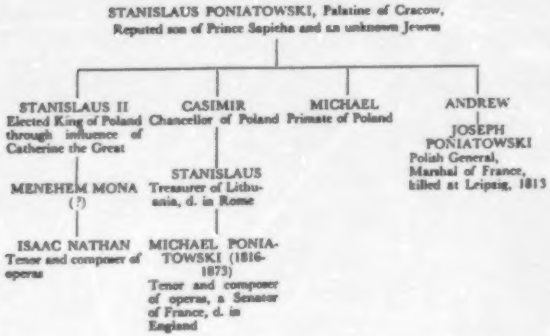
This account of the Nathan/MacLaurin/Mackerras family gives an outline of its history as described by Catherine Mackerras and her children, and through the papers kept by Catherine. The myth that Catherine created by emphasizing positive aspects and minimizing negative aspects has had an influence in the lives and achievements of the present-day family. Also relevant is the idea of delegation that is an integral part of most parental interventions, but is more important in a woman who had position, education and some wealth but who chose to use these opportunities to foster the development of her children rather than to use them to develop her own talents. As a part of this idea of delegation, R.D. Laing's notions of family members having roles cast upon them is illuminative.

This paper has examined some of the similarities between the subjects of this study. The study of the differences between and within the generations provides scope for further discussion.

Family Tree of Isaac Nathan


(?) STANISLAUS PONIATOWSKI
last King of Poland (?) 1732-1798
MENEHEM MONA
Canter of Canterbury. Died in London, 1823
ISAAC NATHAN
b. Canterbury, 1790
d. Sydney, 1864
BARUCH
"Baron Nathan"
RACHEL
NATHAN
Witnessed Isaac's first marriage
A Daughter
A Harpist
(1)
m. 1812
ROSETTA WORTHINGTON
b. Dublin, 1795, d. London, 1824
(2)
m. 1826
HENRIETTA BUCKLEY
b. London, 1806, d. Sydney, 1898
CHARLES BRAHAM, F.R.C.S.
b. London, 1816
d. Sydney, 1872
m. HARRIET FISHER
LOUISA CAROLINE
(Mrs Gore)
ALFRED
STEPHEN
and others
JANE SELINA
(Mrs Foulis)
MARIAN
(Mrs Venour)
JESSY ROSETTA
b. 1824
d. Sydney, 1843
ELIZA ANNE
Eldest of 15 children
m. HENRY NORMAND MACLAURIN, 1871
TEMPLE
ADAH
(Mrs Vigne)
ZYLLA
b. London, 1830
d. Sydney, 1913
HENRY LYND
b. Sydney, 1844
UNA
(Mrs Fell)
WALTER BYRON
(Killed in the Pacific by natives)
CHARLES MACLAURIN, b. 1872, d. 1925
m. 1897 ANNE BITHIAH CROAL
CATHERINE BREARCLIFFE (authoress of this book)
m. 1924 ALAN MACKERRAS
ALAN CHARLES MACLAURIN MACKERRAS
b. 1925

Poniatowski Family Tree


STANISLAUS PONIATOWSKI, Palatine of Cracow,
Reputed son of Prince Sapicha and an unknown Jewess
STANISLAUS II
Elected King of Poland through influence of Catherine the Great
CASIMIR
Chancellor of Poland
MICHAEL
Primate of Poland
ANDREW
JOSEPH PONIATOWSKI
Polish General, Marshal of France, killed at Leipzig, 1813
MENEHEM MONA
(?)
STANISLAUS
Treasurer of Lithuania, d. in Rome
ISAAC NATHAN
Tenor and composer of operas
MICHAEL PONIATOWSKI (1816-1873)
Tenor and composer of operas, a Senator of France, d. in England

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